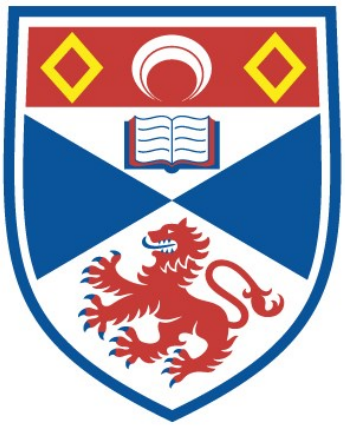
WHITE OF MCKIM, MEAD AND WHITE

Lawrence Wodehouse

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



1980

Full metadata for this item is available in
St Andrews Research Repository
at:
http://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/

Please use this identifier to cite or link to this item:
http://hdl.handle.net/10023/15263

This item is protected by original copyright


BIBLIOTECA UNIVERSITATIS
SINDRIANA

ProQuest Number: 10170847

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS
The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript
and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed,
a note will indicate the deletion.

ProQuest 10170847

Published by ProQuest LLC (2017). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.
This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

Th 9327

ABSTRACT

WHITE OF McKIM, MEAD AND WHITE

Lawrence Wodehouse

Stanford White and Charles Follen McKim were the two major design contributors within the firm of McKim, Mead and White, and William Rutherford Mead was an invaluable organizer and administrator. There are major individual biographies of both McKim and White dating from 1929 and 1931 respectively, but both need updating with regard to the availability of additional research material and changing attitudes toward architectural design over the last hundred years.

White's contribution was stylistically different from that of McKim and although the firm attracted at least 785 design commissions covering all building types, there is a closer affinity stylistically, irrespective of building type, throughout White's work even though there is no evolved progression from one style to another. The Romanesque Revival style, for example, was utilized by White in early and late work and the Romantic-Classical revival used by White in 1890, was the style of his last work, the Prison Ship Martyrs Monument, Fort Greene, Brooklyn, N.Y., completed in 1908, two years after his death.

"White of McKim, Mead and White," therefore, analyses White's work in relation to that of the firm as well as clients, builders, innovative specialists, fellow architects, artists and especially sculptors. Augustus Saint-Gaudens was a lifelong friend, and collaboration between White and Saint-Gaudens, plus a host of other notable contemporary sculptors provides two chapters. Three other chapters are devoted to stylistic developments in addition to another on his early offerings; a list of works is tabulated by building type after the bibliography.

I, Lawrence Wodehouse, declare that the thesis "White of McKim, Mead and White" has been composed by me, and that it has not been submitted or accepted in any previous application to any institution of learning for a higher degree.

March 16, 1980

I certify that Mr. Wodehouse has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution of the University Court 1967 Ph.D. No. 1, and that he is qualified to submit this Thesis in application for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

(R.A. Spencer,
Supervisor)

9 May 1975 (Date)

Stanford White ca. 1880

WHITE OF MCKIM, MEAD AND WHITE

Lawrence Wodehouse

". . . one of the few
men of our time who had
genius. . ."(Cass Gilbert)

"As in every work from
his hand it was marked
by distinguished design
and a free play of
fantasy." (Thornton Wilder)

Presented for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy, Department of Fine Arts,
St. Salvator's College, University of
St. Andrews.

CONTENTS Pages

Pages

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Special thanks are offered to Robin Spencer and John Frew of St. Salvator's College, University of St. Andrews, and Stefan Muthesius of the University of East Anglia for reading and providing advice on the manuscript. Special thanks are also expressed to Wilson G. Duprey, Curator, Maps and Prints Department, New York Historical Society, for retrieving large quantities of material from the Society's archival collection. The staffs of many libraries, archives and other collections have also generously assisted in research. They include Adolf K. Placzek, Avery Memorial Architectural Library, Columbia University; Kenneth Kramer, Dartmouth College Archivist; John H. Dryfout, Curator, Saint Gaudens National Historic Site; Donald E. Lokey, Local History Department, Niagara Falls Public Library; Douglas W. Tanner, Manuscript Department, University of Virginia; the Boston architectural firm of Shepley, Rutan, Richardson and Bulfinch; and Mrs. Lawrence Grant White, St. James, Long Island. To all the above, grateful thanks are expressed.

INTRODUCTION

Charles Baldwin published his Stanford White in 1931,[1] when the firm of McKim, Mead and White was still in existence. By this time, however, the three original members of the partnership--which had been organized in 1878--were dead. White had died in 1906 and McKim in 1909. Although Mead outlived the other two until 1928, he was not active at all after 1919 because of other interests which included the presidency of the American Academy in Rome; McKim had been president of the Academy until his death. In any case, Mead was never a designer within the firm. The partnership of Charles Follen McKim, William Rutherford Mead and Stanford White had effectively ceased to exist after the structures designed by White in 1906 and by McKim in 1908 had been completed. The last structure by White to be completed was the Prison Ship Martyrs Monument, Fort Greene, Brooklyn, dedicated in 1908. After 1906, the firm took on new partners,[2] including White's son, Lawrence Grant White, in 1920.[3]

To write a history of McKim, Mead and White as a history of one firm's contribution to architectural development would be a difficult task. The work of the three original partners would have to be divided from the work of the partners who joined the firm in 1906. This would be difficult because in many cases, the later partners were job captains and assistants working directly under one or more of the partners: McKim or White as designers, and Mead as administrative co-ordinator. Even the individual contributions by Stanford White, McKim and Joseph

Wells, an assistant, for the design of the Henry Villard mansion at 451 Madison Avenue, New York, remains unclear. Did Wells merely supply the details and decorative elements, or was it his grand idea to adapt the Chancelleria Palace, Rome, for a robber-baron's palace in New York?

No architectural historian therefore has ever tackled a history of the complete works of the firm of McKim, Mead and White, although Russell Sturgis attempted to evaluate a large portion of their contribution in an Architectural Record article devoted to "Great American Architects."[4] Montgomery Schuyler and Royal Cortissoz wrote occasional in-depth studies of individual buildings; and Henry W. Desmond and Herbert Croly contributed "The Work of Messrs. McKim, Mead and White" in the September, 1906, issue of Architectural Record.[5]

More recently, with the 1973 Benjamin Blom reprint of A Monograph of the Works of McKim, Mead and White,[6] Leyland Roth contributed a forty-seven page "McKim, Mead and White Reappraised," based upon his 1973 Yale University doctoral dissertation "The Urban Architecture of McKim, Mead and White, 1870-1910."

There are individual monographs on McKim and White, the most noteworthy being Charles C. Baldwin's Stanford White, 1931, and Charles Moore's The Life and Times of Charles Follen McKim, 1929.[7] It has been relatively simple to evaluate the individual contributions of White and McKim by differentiating between

McKim's robust Roman Classicism and White's delicate Federal and other stylistic revivals.

When Baldwin wrote his biography in 1931, White had been dead for a quarter century. Although written when the modern movement in architecture was well established, Baldwin's values nevertheless reflect an unquestioning adherence to the classical tradition. The twentieth century battle between historical styles and the modern movement, the latter of which was usually termed "rationalism," has been won by the modernists (except for the as yet unresolved trends of Post Modernism!)--despite excellent arguments to the contrary by such historians as Henry Hope Reed[8] and contributors to the quarterly magazine, Classical America, the first issue of which was published in 1971. Arthur Drexler, Director of the Department of Architecture at the New York Museum of Modern Art, staged an exhibition entitled "The Architecture of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts," 29 October 1975 to 4 January 1976. It took another year, after the critics had evaluated and sanctioned the reasons for such a show, before Drexler edited, wrote the introduction to, and published the book of the same title. The theme of the exhibition was that modern architecture had to some extent lost the organizational principles of planning inherent in the classical planning of buildings. White's contribution can thus be evaluated far more objectively now, since his stylistic attitudes are much more a part of history than they were in 1931.

Baldwin's work was nevertheless objective, but he rarely discussed stylistic sources and derivations which White searched out; like Moore's biography on McKim, it is more a tribute to a great architect. Baldwin was in the advantageous position of having access to a complete set of records which were subsequently dispersed.[9]

The original partners of the firm also culled records especially whenever they moved to more commodious quarters. In 1895, for example, the firm moved from the offices at 57 Broadway where they began in 1878, to 160 Fifth Avenue. At that time, they disposed of all drawings and files of completed structures. Thus there is no original research material for any of the early Romanesque, Shingle Style, Colonial and François 1er style buildings. Only one scrapbook of the period exists,[10] in addition to the illustrated material in professional journals. The firm again moved in April 1913, from 160 Fifth Avenue to 101 Park Avenue, and presumably the process was repeated. Vincent Scully's The Shingle Style discusses much of the firm's work of the early years,[11] and includes a stylistic evaluation of material based upon George Sheldon's Artistic Country Seats,[12] and similar publications of the period.

Today's architectural historian does, however, have one advantage over Baldwin and Moore in that a large portion of the extant material is now deposited in one place: the New York Historical Society, with fragments at Avery Library, Columbia University, and the Museum of the City of New York. Two major contributions

were made to the New York Historical Society in 1950 and 1968; and a small bundle of personal letters of Stanford White and his father Richard Grant White, were given by Mrs. Lawrence White in 1971.[13] The material is readily available, although with one major drawback. There are approximately 1,000 boxes of filed correspondence which include contract documents, bills of sale, contractors', sub-contractors' and nominated suppliers' letters; most of which have little bearing on design decisions and factors which strike at the heart of architectural history. In addition to this research material there are hundreds of rolls of drawings and photographs. These consist of working drawings, rather than original design drawings and only communicate the ideas of architecture to the practical-minded builder and his workmen. The McKim, Mead and White collection is also a hodge-podge of projects, a few dating from the 1890's, but many after 1910. A huge structure may be represented by a small file containing two letters--one to and another from Lawrence Grant White when the material was disposed of. A small residence, on the other hand, may consist of a dozen boxes. Some of the material is invaluable for a specific project. For example, a specification for a New York club might include the cost and supplier of every rug, tapestry, picture, piece of silverware, furniture, ornamental ironwork, sculpture, antique mantel, ceiling, staircase, in addition to the marbles, onyx, granite, limestone, mosaic and tilework used in the building.

It is thus timely for a second view of one outstanding member of the firm, Stanford White. Many of the original letters quoted by both Baldwin and Moore no longer exist,[14] but many others, either ignored by them or unknown, do exist for the historian to read and use. For the present study some of the material used by Baldwin is quoted from his Stanford White, but where possible, the author has relied upon new and unused material. The present study attempts to evaluate White's work stylistically, which has not been the major object of past historians and contemporaries of White.

Sensationalism has persistently colored the life-story of Stanford White because of his murder at the age of fifty-two. Richard Fleischer directed a Twentieth Century Fox film called "The Girl in the Red Velvet Swing" in 1955, which starred Karoleen Kelly, Luther Adler, Joan Collins, Farley Granger and Cornelia Otis Skinner.

This study does not exploit Stanford White's murder and the events supposedly leading up to it. It is not a study concerned with his death; it is rather concerned with his full life and his outstanding contribution to architecture.[15]

Footnotes:

1. Charles Baldwin, Stanford White, New York, 1931.

2. The new partners of the firm after 1 January, 1906, in addition to McKim, Mead and White, were William M. Kendall, Harvard '76; Burt L. Fenner, the son of one of Mead's classmates at Amherst, University of Rochester and M.I.T. '91; William S. Richardson, from San Francisco; and Teunis J. Van Der Bent, who graduated in engineering from the University of Delft in 1885. Thus, for example, the Municipal Building of New York City, won in competition by McKim, Mead and White in 1908, was actually designed by William Kendall, and so too was the redesign of the Arlington Memorial Bridge and Water Gate at Washington, D.C., which had originally been outlined by McKim.

3. Lawrence Grant White, who was only nineteen years old when his father Stanford was killed, graduated from Harvard in 1907, attended the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris, entered the firm in 1914, and became a partner in 1920.

4. Russell Sturgis, "Great American Architects: McKim, Mead and White," Architectural Record 4 (May 1895 supplement): 1-111.

5. Henry W. Desmond and Herbert Croly, "The Work of Messrs. McKim, Mead and White," Architectural Record 20 (September 1906): 153-246.

6. Loc cit., 1st edition, New York: The Architectural Book Publishing Co., 1915-20. 4 vols.

7. Charles Moore, The Life and Times of Charles Follen McKim, Boston and New York, 1929.

8. Henry Hope Reed Jr., The Golden City, Garden City, N.J., 1959.

9. After Baldwin's biography, Lawrence Grant White, Stanford White's only son, culled many of the firm's files during the 1930's and disposed of much material which, had it been retained, would have been invaluable to the architectural researcher and historian. Time and again, when a history of a town or a history of local art and architecture was being compiled, Lawrence received a letter asking for information and offered source material. For most of his life, in fact, he acted as social secretary to the three original partners, and disposed of drawings even when not requested to do so. The following letter of May 16, 1929, sent to Benjamin W. Arnold, 465 State Street, Albany, New York, is typical of many from Lawrence's hand:

"Dear Mr. Arnold,

We are clearing out our old files, among which we find the drawings of your house. We are sending them to you by express, thinking they may be of value to you for reference."

(New York Historical Society, Map and Print Room, McKim, Mead and White Archive (hereinafter referred to as NYHS M & P), File M-16.)

During 1931 he gave away the drawings, and in 1935 the files and specifications, of the James J. Goodwin House, at 11 West Fifty-fourth Street. The list is endless.

10. Now in the NYHS M & P.

11. Vincent Scully, The Shingle Style, New Haven, 1955, especially Chapter Eight on the firm's work: "McKim, Mead and White: Originality, Order and Academic Reaction, 1880-87."

12. George Sheldon, Artistic Country Seats, New York, 1886-87.

13. In "McKim, Mead and White Archives", New York Historical Society Quarterly 34 (October 1950): 346, announcement is made of a gift to the society from Lawrence Grant White, Stanford White's son, which included "350 transfer cases and files, 300 bundles of specifications and details, 500 tubes of drawings, and 250 glass negatives." Wayne Andrews surveyed the contents of this gift in two articles: "McKim, Mead and White: New York's Own Architects", New York Historical Society Quarterly 35 (January 1951): 87-96; and "McKim, Mead and White: Their Mark Remains", New York Times Magazine 17 (January 1951): 18. The New York Historical Society Annual Report for the Year 1968 (New York: by the Society, 1969), p.21, reported that Mrs. James Kellum Smith, wife of one of the later partners of the firm, presented additional records. These are held in the Map and Print Room. The New York Historical Society Annual Report for the Year 1970 (New York: by the Society, 1971), p.22, announced that "Mrs. Lawrence Grant White presented a collection of several hundred manuscripts related to Richard Grant White (1821-85), author, and to his son Stanford White (1853-1906), architect." This correspondence is held in the Manuscript Collection (hereinafter referred to as NYHS MSS).

Avery Library, Columbia University, has one box of "Miscellaneous original drawings and sketches" containing five. The Museum of the City of New York has an extensive collection of photographs. See John Walden Myers, "The New York Work of Stanford White," Museum of the City of New York Bulletin 5 (March 1942): 46-52.

14. Charles Moore made typewritten copies of all letters owned by McKim's daughter Margaret, and after writing his biography deposited all the copies in the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

15. Lawrence Grant White's Sketches and Designs of Stanford White, New York, 1920, has proved of value. So too has Gerald Langford's The Murder of Stanford White, Indianapolis and New York, 1962, and Evelyn Nesbit's Prodigal Days, 1934, in order to provide a complete understanding of Stanford White the man.

CHAPTER ONE

McKIM, MEAD AND WHITE AND THEIR TIMES

Sibyl Moholy-Nagy considered the "formgivers" of the 1960's to be the "first American architects," an opinion which she expressed in The Architecture of Paul Rudolph.[1] William Ellery Channing at the beginning of the nineteenth century and Van Wyck Brooks in the early twentieth, demanded that America become of age in her own expressiveness rather than remain reliant upon Europe in general and more particularly upon Britain. But to suggest that Paul Rudolph and his contemporaries were the first American architects in their non-derivatory qualities is an exaggeration of Mrs. Moholy-Nagy, that grand dame of the stimulating but controversial over-statement.

The Federal style of the post-Revolutionary period, for example, could not in any way be confused with the work of Robert Adam, from whose work the style derived its inspiration. Thomas Jefferson who practiced during the Federal period continually gains greater credence as an innovative architect in the Roman Revival and Palladian styles. His contemporaries were part of a whole movement within western society which relied upon the study of great monuments of Antiquity. Richard Upjohn, the Gothicist, was not as great a giant as Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin, neither could Ammi B. Young's Italianate custom houses and post offices be compared to the London clubs of Sir Charles Barry. In the post Civil War years, however, the Ruskinian

Venetian Gothic gained greater acceptance in the States than in Britain and produced some noteworthy examples. Dean and Woodward's University Museum, Oxford, 1855-59, or the slightly earlier Museum at Trinity College, Dublin, 1853, by Benjamin Woodward, have none of the warmth of colour that can be found in the red brick and buff stone trim of the American examples of the Eastern seaboard. Peter Bonnett Wight's National Academy of Design, New York, won in competition and built 1863-65, stood as a miniature Doge's Palace, at Twenty-third Street on Fourth Avenue (now Park Avenue South). It was demolished in the late nineteenth century so that we can only know it from photographs. Memorial Hall at Harvard, is devoid of its original spire so that today it is a modification of the design by Ware and Van Brunt, of 1870. In Greenwich Village, New York, however, the Jefferson Market Courthouse was refurbished in 1967 and represents a rich and colourful example of the style. It is a late example, designed in 1875 by Frederick Withers, the English architect brought to the States by A.J. Downing.

The reason for the widespread success of these Venetian Gothic designs was due in no small part to the success of Ruskin in the States where his books were published in more editions than in Britain. The other major reason is that Ruskin inspired the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood in Britain consisting of artists, poets and a sculptor, which in turn spawned the American Brotherhood. Two of the seven American brothers were architects, Peter Bonnett Wight and Russell Sturgis.

Ware and Van Brunt were partners from about 1865-81, but both had previously worked for Richard Morris Hunt, the first American architect to attend the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris. Hunt lived in Paris for a decade where he worked for Hector Lefuel on extensions to the Louvre and may have actually designed the Pavillion de la Bibliotheque. Returning to the States in 1855, he designed in the François 1er and "neo grec" as well as in the American Stick style tradition but not in the General Grant Style the American adaptation of the style of Second Empire France. Others did utilize the latest French influences including Alfred Bult Mullett who designed fifty million dollars worth of government buildings, 1865-75, including the State, War and Navy Building, Washington, 1871-75. Bryant and Gilman's Boston City Hall, 1862-65, was an earlier example, and John McArthur's Philadelphia City Hall, begun in 1874, was the most decorative and the most famous building in the style.

Henry Van Brunt, Charles D. Gambrill (who later partnered with Henry Hobson Richardson) and George B. Post joined the Hunt office in 1858 and Van Brunt's partner William Ware joined in 1859 to be followed by Frank Furness.[2] All became noteworthy practitioners especially the bold Furness who was later to employ the young Louis Sullivan albeit only for a few months. An architect often overlooked who trained in engineering at New York University was George Browne Post. He collaborated with Gilman and Kendall on the Equitable Life Insurance Company Building, New York, 1868-70, a building which Winston Weisman

considers to be the first American skyscraper although only five storeys high. Its high ceilings demanded the incorporation of an elevator in order to reach the top floor where Post established his office upon completion of the building.[3] Weisman also sees a "striking similarity between the composition of Post's Produce Exchange, New York, 1881-84, and H.H. Richardson's Marshall Field Warehouse of 1885-87, particularly as it relates to the window treatment, and Adler and Sullivan's Auditorium of 1887-89."[4] The Produce Exchange was in red brick, the same material planned for the Marshall Field Warehouse, although the latter was finally constructed of sandstone with a red granite base. Hitchcock in his biography of Richardson saw the Cheney Building, Hartford, 1875, as "the first step toward the Marshall Field Store. . . one of his greatest masterpieces," but it was the structures of 1878 to 1883 that Hitchcock most admired as Richardson's "finest and most finished work,"[5] including Sever Hall, Harvard, 1878-80, the libraries in the small towns which encircled Boston and the interiors of the New York State Capital, Albany, 1878-81. The architectural profession in 1884 much preferred Richardson's most famed structure, Trinity Church, Boston, won in competition in 1872. When the American Architect and Building News asked seventy-five architects to list America's ten greatest buildings, eighty-four percent chose Trinity as number one, even though a range of 175 buildings was nominated. Richardson's idiom was a very personal one and although inspired by the Romanesque, was only superficially reliant upon Medieval architecture. Many of his imitators were less Richardsonian and far more Romanesque, notably William Appleton Potter in his work at

Princeton College where he designed Alexander Hall, 1892. Richardson's influence can be found in Russia, throughout Europe, and even as distant as Australia, although the predominant followers were American. Towns and cities of the United States which were growing during the last quarter of the nineteenth century can boast at least one major structure in the mode. At St. Johnsbury, Vermont, for example, an almost totally unknown local architect, Lambert Packard, designed the Fairbanks Museum of Natural Science, 1890, and a commendable effort it is too with its internal warm timber colours, its barrel vaulted wooden ceiling, and the polychromatics of different coloured stone in the arcades and tower; the building has a fine composition with bold massing.

Richardson died in 1886, the year in which Adler and Sullivan won the competition for the Auditorium Building, Chicago. Sullivan produced two major revisions, and the building as constructed, 1887-89, followed the published design of Marshall Field which wasn't completed until 1887. Architectural historians are now becoming more critical of Sullivan than his first biographer Hugh Morrison.[6]

Philip Johnson felt that John Wellborn Root of the Chicago firm of Burnham and Root who designed so many innovative skyscrapers, "was a better Richardsonian than Sullivan. Even McKim in his Boston Public Library. . . created a design far purer than nine tenths of Sullivan's buildings."[7] Hitchcock considered that "Sullivan was the first master architect of the skyscraper,[8]

whereas Weisman wonders if the young Sullivan while working in the Philadelphia office of Furness could not have been influenced by the Jayne Building across Chestnut Street of 1849, with its thin granite piers rising the whole height of the building.[9]

It is this vertical emphasis on highrise structures for which Sullivan is so highly praised as opposed to the essentially Classical approach of horizontal layering to relate the building to the perspective lines of the street. The Schiller Building, Chicago, 1891-92, like so many other structures has this vertical accentuation, but Grant Manson thought it an "aberration in Sullivan's career." Manson continues in the praise of Frank Lloyd Wright, who as an assistant in the office of Adler and Sullivan "gave a new and significant direction to the occasional piece of domestic architecture which came, uncourted, into the office,"[10] specifically the Charnley House, Chicago, 1891-92, "as formal as McKim, Mead and White had yet designed."[11]

At the World Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893, Sullivan was completely retardataire in his design of the Transportation Building despite the praise which the French and other visitors and critics accorded it. The Golden Door of the building was Islamic and the interior a pastiche of Notre Dame, Paris, all backward looking aspects compared to the ultra-modern Manufacturer's Building by George B. Post.[12]

Most other buildings at the Exposition including McKim, Mead

and White's Agricultural Building and New York State Building were Classical in derivation. Sullivan claimed that the Exposition was a blow struck at American architecture from which it would not recover for half a century. It is often claimed that if John Wellborn Root had not died of pneumonia on the first site visit of the World's Fair Board in 1891, the outcome might have been different. A glance at Root's sketch for a Romanesque Administration Building[13] would convince most that if all buildings had been designed to imitate the polychromatics of natural brownstone, repeated one huge building after another in the Romanesque or allied styles, the result could have been devastatingly heavy. As it was, the Administration Building was given to R.M. Hunt, who with other Easterners imposed pristine white Classicism upon Chicago in 1893.

If one accepts that the Second Empire style in America was a merging of Italianate and High Victorian Gothic influences mainly from Britain, then after the demise of the Greek Revival which admittedly was still lingering after the Civil War, Classical architecture did not revive until McKim, Mead and White introduced it in the early 1880's. McKim worked for Richardson, 1870-72, and White, Richardson's most famed assistant upon whom he relied to a large extent, 1872-78. Both became practitioners in a wide variety of Classical idioms, with a few exceptions at the outset of their ventures. Since Sullivan and Wright captured the spirit of Richardson and since Wright is usually considered, with Le Corbusier and Mies van der Rohe, as one of the three masters of modern design, it is assumed that had Richardson

lived beyond the age of forty-eight he would have progressed further toward the Wright stance in the twentieth century and beyond Sever Hall, Marshall Field, and Union Station, New London, Connecticut, 1885-87. Richardson influenced European architects of the calibre of Eliel Saarinen and Hendrikus Petrus Berlage. The Amsterdam Exchange won in competition by Berlage in 1897 and built 1898-1903, is reliant upon Richardson. Sigfried Giedion related the simplicity of the window treatment of Sever Hall to those on the Damrak facade of the Exchange,[14] and A.W. Reinink sees an affiliation of the triple entrances arches on the Damrak to the arched entrance and staircase of Richardson's Trinity Parsonage, Boston, 1879-80.[15] Even so, the Exchange did not progress significantly beyond Richardson, considering that it was designed eleven years after his death.

Is it not possible that had Richardson lived beyond 1886 he may have been engulfed or even have led the movement toward an inventive personal Classicism? Hitchcock has argued convincingly that he was not an architect of the Romanesque Revival but rather totally Richardsonian in his creative expression, even though inspired by the Romanesque. Could he not equally have been Richardsonian in a Classical sense?

With a renewed interest in Classical architecture and the publication of Arthur Drexler's The Architecture of the Ecole des Beaux Arts,[16] it could be argued that had Richardson lived beyond 1886, the progress and development of modern architecture

may have been different. This is, however, an academic argument since the course of history cannot be changed by backward speculation. Nevertheless, the work of the firm of McKim, Mead and White was primarily Classical and sufficiently a part of history that it can be judged more objectively now than at any time since the death of White in 1906 and McKim in 1909. William Rutherford Mead continued in the practice until 1919 although he was never a major influence in the design decisions taken by the firm. Nevertheless he cannot and should not be ignored since without him McKim and White would have floundered. It is Stanford White with whom we are concerned in this study but it is White's contribution as part of the total output of the architectural practice of McKim, Mead and White that is important.

The noted architectural critic Montgomery Schuyler wrote in Scribner's Magazine in December, 1913, "A work of art, to have individuality, must in the first place be the work of an individual. There were very wide artistic divergencies, for example, between the work of Charles F. McKim and the work of Stanford White, so that, after each had 'found his hand-writing,' it was out of the question for any competent observer to mistake the emanations of one mind for those of the other, though both were assumed to emanate from the one and indivisible 'firm.'"[17] This attitude is almost universally held by architectural historians, whether contemporaries of McKim, Mead and White, such as Royal Cortissoz, Charles Baldwin, Henry W. Desmond and Herbert Croly, or by more recent historians, such as Henry-Russell

Hitchcock or Vincent Scully. But all emphasize equally the teamwork of the firm as expressed by Desmond and Croly in their September, 1906, assessment of the firm's work in Architectural Record:

> "Inasmuch as during their twenty-six years of professional association, they must have been confronted with radical differences of opinion and preference, it is highly creditable to them that they should none the less have held firmly together. . . . The essential unity of the trio has rightly been called the most complete example of association in the history of professional practice."[18]

To Scully, in his The Shingle Style, McKim contributed the tight sense of order and clarity and White the "free spatial and painterly vision."[19] Each partner had his special accomplishment and individualistic attitudes. McKim, for example, spent considerable time and effort in establishing the American Academy in Rome, and in collaborating with Daniel Burnham, Frederick Law Olmsted Jr. and Augustus Saint-Gaudens on beautification plans for Washington. But McKim knew that he had a strong backing for all his ambitions from his other two partners, and at his death, Mead even took over the presidency in Rome.

When McKim was awarded the Gold Medal of the Royal Institute of British Architects in 1903 his acceptance speech included no mention of Mead or White. Instead, he emphasized the historic

architectural ties between Britain and her American colonies: the indebtedness of eighteenth century American architects to Sir Christopher Wren, and the British architects of note, including William Thornton and James Hoban, who contributed their skills to the establishment of a national capitol for the emerging United States. He discussed his interests which included the American Institute of Architects and its home in Thorton's Octagon, the City Beautiful movement in respect to Washington, the standards in American architectural schools, and his ambitions for the American Academy in Rome. It may seem a little odd that he didn't speak of his own contribution or the contribution of his firm to architecture. In assuming that the architectural contribution of McKim, Mead and White was the reason for the Gold Medal, he used the platform to further his ideals.[20]

The partners complemented each other in many respects. Although the Palladian-Colonial H.A.C. Taylor House at Newport, Rhode Island, 1885-86, is credited to McKim by Moore and Roth,[21] White aided him considerably in its design, as he did in the E.D. Morgan House, Newport, 1891, according to Baldwin.[22] The Charles Dana Gibson House, assumed by Baldwin to be White's,[23] was possibly another joint effort; Gibson's letter of October 1902, was addressed to McKim and stated, "I want to tell you how pleased we are with the brick and marble on 73 St. The beauties of the front (unfinished as it is) occupies my whole attention. We are very happy over it. . . ."[24] But another letter, undated, to an assistant named Albro, requested that

"Mr. White give us an opinion /on/ . . . darkish olive green . . . for the library."[25] McKim and White could complement each other even though one was bold and Roman and the other effeminate and Adamesque. At Naugatuck, Connecticut, for example, J.H. Whittemore commissioned seven buildings from the firm: two houses, the Naugatuck National Bank, 1883, the library, 1894, the public school and the Congregational church (as bold as anything Wren would have done, but in red brick with stone trim of 1906--by McKim). The Hillside High School was the only contribution by White. From the portico of the high school on a hill overlooking the town square can still be seen the public school on one side of the square, the church on a second side and the library on a third. The reason that the group is so harmonious is that they all have a basis in some classical style, even though the library is of stone and the remainder of the structures predominantly of red brick, except for the high school which is of granite, limestone and a buff-coloured brick.

Except for one or two minor churches the firm never deviated from some period of classical architecture, whether ancient, Renaissance or Colonial. Classicism was a unifying influence on all of their work and was chosen for the Chicago Fair of 1893. This style was to survive well into the twentieth century.

Baldwin's biography of White quotes Philip Sawyer's opinion that "even after thirty years the work of the firm shows the same vitality and lightheartedness as did their earliest designs. This it seems to me, was, in part, Stanford White's contribution."[26]

The firm did have a profound influence upon the profession, and many young men joined the firm for their educational advancement, either in lieu of, or in addition to, a college training in architecture. Many architects copied the work of the firm, and in so doing lost the ideal of McKim, Mead and White, who essentially looked to the past to inspire originality rather than build copies in pastiche styles.[27]

From the firm of McKim, Mead and White emerged such noteworthy names as Henry Bacon, who continued striving, after McKim, for a beautiful national capital, building there the Lincoln Memorial and employing Daniel Chester French as the sculptor of the seated Lincoln.

John Carrere and Thomas Hastings practiced together after leaving McKim, Mead and White, and in the great tradition of McKim, Hastings was awarded the Gold Medal of the Royal Institute of British Architects in 1922; McKim and R.M. Hunt were the only other two Americans prior to Hastings to have been awarded such an honour.[28]

After this overview of the firm, a brief survey of the life and work of each of the three partners would seem justifiable so that a comprehensive understanding of the role of each can be evaluated in relation to that of White. McKim was a designer as individual and unique as White, but Mead's role of administrative co-ordinator was invaluable to both. All major decisions were made

in concert and a compatible relationship always existed between the three architects.

CHARLES FOLLEN McKIM (1847-1909)

Charles Follen McKim was born at Isabella Furnace, Chester County, Pennsylvania, the second child of James Miller and Sarah (Speakman) McKim, on August 24, 1849, and schooled at Perth Amboy, New Jersey, and in the Philadelphia public schools. Charles Follen McKim entered Harvard College in the fall of 1866. He had decided upon a profitable and useful, as opposed to an academic, career in mining engineering and thus prepared for the Lawrence Scientific School. But he had more success at cricket than at mathematics and chemistry, and left Harvard the following year. Upon the advice of Henry Villard, a later architectural client, he entered the architectural office of Russell Sturgis. His ambition, however, was to enter the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Paris, which he did in 1867, accompanied in Paris by Robert Swain Peabody, later of the famous Boston architectural firm Peabody and Stearns; and by William B. Bigelow, who became one of his early partners. He studied in the atelier of Pierre J.H. Daumet from 1867 to 1870, and left Paris prior to the Franco-Prussian conflict. While in Europe he travelled in France, Germany, Italy, Austria, and Britain--where in 1869 he was made an honourary member of the Architectural Association in London.[29]

The Philadelphia architect Frank Furness (in whose office Louis Sullivan had briefly worked) offered McKim employment, but

Charles preferred the metropolitan atmosphere of New York and the office of the architectural giant Henry Hobson Richardson, who at that period was in partnership with Charles Gambrill. Richardson promised McKim a job if the firm won the competition for the Brattle Square Church, Boston, but employed him before a decision was given, and there McKim remained for two years. He began accepting commissions of his own at the same address as Gambrill and Richardson of 6 Hanover Street, New York, during 1872. Two years later, he married Anne Bigelow, the sister of his Paris friend. Margaret McKim, born on August 13, 1875, was the only child of the marriage which was annulled in 1878. During the same year, William Bigelow, with whom McKim and William Rutherford Mead had set up a partnership in 1877, left the business, making way for twenty-five-year-old Stanford White.

McKim's early designs have been discussed at length by Vincent Scully.[30] In 1872 he remodeled the eighteenth century Thomas Robinson house on Washington Street in Newport, Rhode Island, which nurtured his interest in the Colonial style. The Robinson house led to a whole phase of shingle and Colonial style domestic structures for Newport, where he also designed the Casino. Other casinos were built at Narragansett, 1881-84, and Short Hills, New Jersey, 1879-80. White was responsible for the casino at Short Hills, and McKim, the residential development. Shingled houses flourished at Elberon, New Jersey, and on Long Island. St. Paul's Episcopal Church was built at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, 1883-85, and the Algonquin Club in Boston, 1886-89.

During October, 1883, Miss Julia Appleton discussed a proposed summer cottage which she ultimately built at Lenox, Massachusetts, for herself and another sister. This client-architect relationship led to McKim's second marriage on June 25, 1885, to Julia Amory Appleton, who lived only until January 3, 1887. Her small fortune was used by McKim after her death for medical research at the Boston Lying-in Hospital, one of her interests, and for two architectural traveling scholarships, one at Columbia and the other at Harvard--architectural education being a chief interest throughout McKim's life.

McKim's Boston associations and the admiration which Samuel Abbott had for McKim's cricketing ability at Harvard and for the firm's design of the Villard Mansion, New York, 1882-85, led to McKim, Mead and White being chosen the architects for the Boston Public Library, 1887-98. This was McKim's catch and in its design, he sought inspiration from the Roman Colosseum as interpreted by Leon Batista Alberti on the exterior side walls at the Tempio Malatestiano at Rimini, 1450, or Henry Labrouste's Bibliotheque Ste. Geneviève, Paris, 1843-50. The final cost of one-half million dollars was almost six times its original proposed estimate.[31]

By the early 1880's, Richardson had become the outstanding national, as well as the accepted local architect in Boston. Only a decade later, McKim became his Boston replacement, designing the iron and brick fence around the Harvard Yard and

many of its entrances donated by alumni (which led to an M.A. degree in 1890) and winning commissions for the Boston Symphony Hall, constructed 1899-1900, the Harvard Union, 1889-91, Robinson Hall for the School of Architecture, 1899, the Harvard Stadium and the Radcliffe gymnasium, 1897-99. The Harvard Club Building, begun 1893, equally established his name in New York City, and the Court of Honour, Agriculture Building and the New York State Building at Chicago in 1893. The latter commission came at the instigation of a like-minded architect and "City Beautiful" planner, Daniel H. Burnham.

Architectural education, whether by travel scholarships or libraries was always foremost in McKim's mind.[32] McKim had benefitted from an Ecole des Beaux-Arts training and felt that all graduates in architecture should have similar opportunities.

He also dreamed of an American Academy for the arts to be founded in Rome, which he regarded as the birthplace of architectural classicism in the Western World. McKim was not enamoured with architectural education in the United States. The first course was established at M.I.T. in 1866 under William R. Ware, a High Victorian Gothicist who traveled in France immediately after the Civil War to study methods of instruction at the Ecole. Eugène Létang took charge of design at M.I.T. from 1872 to 1892 and was admired by McKim for his teaching ability there.[33] Ware resigned from M.I.T. in 1881 to become head of architecture at the Columbia University School of Mines. William P.P. Longfellow, a protégè

of Alfred Bult Mullett, the Second Empire style architect whose work McKim disliked, took over. The American schools were thus in the hands of Gothicists or those who practiced in the General Grant style. Although Ware transferred his allegiance to Classicism as did Létang, McKim remained unconvinced by this, believing that the classical architecture of antiquity was a creed, and the Ecole the fountainhead for such training.

After the success of the Chicago World's Fair in 1893, and the beginning of a new era dominated by Classicism, which replaced the pastiches perpetrated by copyists of Richardson's personal style, McKim's idea of an academy comparable to the French Academy in Rome slowly became a reality. The Department of Architecture began with meagre resources and few students in limited accommodations, few books and equipment, but soon expanded to include departments of archaeology, sculpture, painting and literature. McKim sought advice and assistance in money raising, in the hope that control of the Academy would lie in the hands of an international panel of architects. Burnham was a staunch supporter in Chicago, Peabody in Boston; and other allegiances developed in Washington and Philadelphia. Early contributors to the Academy included W.C. Whitney, P.A. Schermerhorn, Henry Walters and Mrs. Victor Sorchan; but the establishment of the Academy on a firm financial basis came with $100,000 donations by J. Pierpont Morgan, Henry Walters, W.K. Vanderbilt, Henry L. Higginson and James Stillman.

Another major offshoot of the Chicago World's Fair was the City Beautiful Movement led by Daniel Burnham, and Frederick Law Olmsted Jr., which McKim and Saint-Gaudens joined for the Senate Park Commission for Washington, D.C.. The beautification of the nation's capital was an extension of their ideals established at Chicago. It had been reinforced by a trip to Europe to explore the work of André Le Notre, and visits to the cities of Paris, Rome, Venice, Budapest and London. McKim's interest in Washington and meetings with government officials, including President McKinley, led to the commission for the restoration of the White House under President Theodore Roosevelt, 1902-03.

McKim's greatest work during the last few years of his life include the planning of the Columbia University campus dominated by Low Library, 1893-98, in addition to the University Club, 1896-1900, Pennsylvania Station, 1902-11, and the Pierpont Morgan Library, 1902-07, all in New York City.

On January 1, 1908, he left the office for an extended vacation, never to return. He died at St. James, Long Island, on September 14, 1909, and was buried at Rosedale Cemetery, Orange, New Jersey. One of the greatest tributes paid him during his life was the award of the Gold Medal by the Royal Institute of British Architects. During the same year, 1903, he was President of the American Institute of Architects, a body which posthumously awarded him a similar honour. His will left most of his wealth to his daughter Margaret and her offspring, or

failing that, to the American Academy in Rome and to the President and Fellow of Harvard University for endowing scholarships in the School of Architecture.

WILLIAM RUTHERFORD MEAD (1846-1928)

Mead was born in Vermont on August 20, 1846, the son of Larkin Goldsmith and Mary Jane (Noyes) Mead, and educated at Norwich University from 1861 to 1863. Before entering college, however, Mead admitted seeing the Vermont state capitol at Montpelier, 1833, by Ammi Burnham Young (1798-1874) and being influenced by this structure "towards the study of architecture. . . and I suppose I imbibed a love for the Renaissance from my /later/ residence in Italy."[34]

From Norwich, Vermont, Mead studied at Amherst College, 1863-1867, entered the New York architectural office of Russell Sturgis, where he was advised by George Fletcher Babb, who became a lifelong friend. Mead then spent a year and a half in Florence with his brother Larkin, studying at the Academia de Belle Arte, and returned to the United States in 1872 when his association with Charles Follen McKim began.

Mead's early designs can be found illustrated in the New York Sketch Book and the American Architect and Building News. His Cayuga Lake Hotel (Fig. 1)[35] looks more like Henry VIII's Nonesuch Palace, 1538, in massing, covered in vertical and hori-

zontal boarding, stick style verandahs and with roofs, towers and turrets covered in cedar shingles. Two houses also appeared in 1877, the Thomas Dunn House at Newport (Fig. 2)[36] in the Elizabethan style and the Dwight S. Herrick country house at Peekskill-on-Hudson (Fig. 3),[37] a shingle style residence based upon planning principles of A.J. Downing, with a central hall, staircase off to the side and kitchen accommodation out back.

After the McKim, Mead and White partnership was firmly established, Mead contributed no designs as such in the way that McKim and White did, but rather acted as an anchor, adviser, coordinator and administrator. Without his ability in this respect, there could have been no successful partnership. Saint-Gaudens characterized the firm in a sketch showing two kites pulling in different directions, one marked McKim and the other White; Mead was the anchor man, keeping the kites out of difficulties. Mead is reported to have jokingly suggested that his role was to "prevent his partners from making damned fools of themselves."[38] Whenever McKim or White were out of town,[39] Mead ran the office like a general, manoeuvering a small army of architectural assistants.

When the firm was awarded the commission for the Boston Public Library, 1887, McKim immediately wanted to leave for Paris for inspiration to improve his design. Mead, in a letter of December 19, 1887, was quick to point out that the building committee of the library had approved a scheme and expected construction to

begin by April 1, 1888. If McKim left for Paris, he would obviously return with new and different ideas, negating all work done in his absence and antagonizing the committee into the bargain. Mead was backed by White in suggesting that the drawings should be completed and the building begun; after which McKim might go abroad to refine his detailed ideas to incorporate into the building as it progressed.[40]

After the Henry Villard Mansion had been built on Madison Avenue, between Fiftieth and Fifty-first Streets, 1885, Villard had a financial set-back which led to the sale of other portions of the site to Artemis H. Holmes and Edward Dean Adams, who wanted to build for themselves. It was Mead who successfully insisted that McKim, Mead and White, Villard's architects, should also design the residences for Holmes and Adams to create a unified whole to the scheme.[41]

On another occasion Mead planned a twenty-five-foot extension to Joseph Pulitzer's house on East Seventy-third Street, New York, even though White had already designed the seventy-five-foot-long frontage.[42] Each member of the firm could thus complement the other. For instance, the plans of the Boston Public Library and the Century Club, New York, the former to McKim's design, the latter to White's, have been attributed to Mead, in addition to several other designs of the firm.[43] Lawrence Grant White wrote "But, beside his business judgment, Mead's extraordinary grasp of architectural planning was of incalculable value to the firm. He possessed that instinctive sense of scale and proportion which

makes the development of the elevations follow naturally and logically from the plan. Although he gave less of his time to actual designing than his partners, he often not only conceived the scheme which was the basis of the whole design, but gave timely criticisms which had vital bearing upon the finished work."[44]

In restoring the White House in ninety days of 1902-03, McKim relied to a great extent upon Mead's organizing ability. "I do not know what I should do without Mead," wrote McKim to Charles Moore. "He has taken up the work with tremendous energy and enthusiasm." At a meeting with the building committee of the University Club, New York, McKim was asked how much the Governor's Room would cost. Mead immediately produced tentative figures, even though McKim appeared shocked that such a grand room could be finished for as little as $40,000.[45]

Perhaps it was this thorough and methodical attitude to detail which led McKim and White to call Mead "Dummy". Numerous pieces of correspondence from McKim and White began "Dear Dummy", a derogatory term but obviously said with friendly relish and affection.[46] Mead as "Dummy" has never been explained. It could possibly have been a childhood or college nick-name which stuck. Mead was an indispensable third partner and in the turmoil of an architect's office, a pacifier.

After the death of White in 1906 and of McKim in 1909, Mead continued as a consultant to the firm until 1919. He also

continued the great work begun by McKim in establishing the American Academy in Rome. Mead was elected president of that institution in 1909 and gave of his enthusiasm for eighteen years as McKim had done since the genesis of the idea in about 1893. Mead crossed the Atlantic on over sixty occasions and was finally buried in the American Cemetery in Florence, where the firm designed a tomb for him and his wife.[47]

STANFORD WHITE (1853-1906)

Stanford was the name given to the second child of Richard Grant and Alexina Black (Mease) White, born on November 9, 1853, in honour of his great-uncle, the brother of his paternal grandfather Richard Mansfield White; Stanford had one elder brother, Richard Mansfield White, named after the grandfather. The father Richard Grant White was a noted man of letters and a Shakespearean scholar, who loved music and fishing. When on trips out of New York City where the family lived, he would write to his wife "Nina" and always inquire of Richie and Stannie; ". . . dear little vandals--do they torment your life out? . . . . dear little Huns. . . ," or "Darling Wife, Assist Stannie to distinguish himself from Richie." On October 11, 1858, he wrote

> "Dear little Nina,
>
> Good news for dear little Stannie. Stanford /the great-uncle/ has conveyed to me fifty shares of stock as Trustee for him. They are worth but $500 now, but will quite surely be worth $5000 ere long. So it will be always,

> Stannie darling little soul, will have benefits showered upon him; but my poor boy Richie will have few real friends or efficient friends, except the father whose unhappy names he bears. . . .[48]

The White family's summers were spent at Fort Hamilton, New York, on the Hudson. It must have been from here on September 10, 1868, that Richard Grant White wrote to his wife recounting the happenings of the day. Father, son Stanford and some local helpers were digging a ditch 150 feet long, depositing the earth on the other side of a thirty-foot-wide road.

> "The ground was as hard as rock, and we had there to make a covered drain and also provide a means for the passing of vehicles. The contrivance by which we were enabled to accomplish this last was Stanny's, who was very quick and saw well what was needed; but dear little soul, told it in such a head over heels way that I could not understand him. But Tom Burns did; and said that 'The youngest man of the lot was the wisest.'"[49]

It was undoubtedly incidents such as this which ultimately led Stanford into the profession of architecture where ingenuity is as important as an aesthetic taste.

Stanford sketched a great deal and wanted to become a painter but John La Farge dissuaded either him or his father. The boy was thus educated by private tutors; New York University, his

father's alma mater, awarded him an A.M. degree in 1881. Richard Grant White died only four years later in 1885, and on April 9, Frederick Law Olmsted, the landscape architect, wrote Stanford:

> "Dear Mr. White,
>
> I am much grieved to hear this morning of the death of your father. . . . You will perhaps remember that he took counsel with me as to your choice of a profession and the course of education you should adopt and that I introduced him to Mr. Richardson. I have enjoyed the satisfaction he must have had in the fulfillment of his faith in you and your remarkably successful career in the path that was then opening."[50]

Richard Grant White and Frederick Law Olmsted (1822-1903), were contemporaries and interested in Transcendental thought. Olmsted was editor of Putnam Magazine during the 1850's, a publication to which White contributed from this period to the end of his life.[51] The men probably knew each other quite well and Olmsted was a great friend and collaborator of Henry Hobson Richardson (1838-86). "With Richardson, Olmsted worked on private residences, railway stations for the Albany and Boston Railroad, the Buffalo State Hospital (for the mentally ill), North Easton Town Hall, the Albany State Capitol and a 'master-plan' for Staten Island. . . . Frederick Church, Olmsted and Richardson began in 1879 the project of preserving the Niagara Falls working with the Governor-General of Canada, Lord Dufferin."[52]

Stanford joined the New York architectural office of Gambrill and Richardson during the summer of 1872 when he was nineteen years of age. Charles Follen McKim had worked for Richardson from 1870 to 1872, when in May of that year he set up a practice of his own in the same building. He did, however, complete several projects in the Richardson office through the summer and into the autumn of 1872.

The most famous of all Richardson's projects was Trinity Church, Boston. It was begun by McKim, but as White assumed more responsibility in the office, he was given superintendance of the church. It was McKim's opinion "that the Trinity Church design had to be entirely restudied, until nothing was left but the plan," as he explained in a letter of March 21, 1893, to the rector, Rev. E. Winchester Donald.[53] White must have spent considerable periods in Boston once the church was under way, staying at a hotel in sight of the Boston City Hall, by Gridley James Fox Bryant and Arthur D. Gilman, constructed 1862-1865. It was in the French Second Empire or General Grant style, a style which Richardson had known well while training in Paris, a style which Richardson used for his own house Arrochar on Staten Island, 1868,[54] but a style which declined in popularity faster than its growth a decade earlier, immediately after the Civil War. In a letter to his mother on a Sunday afternoon sometime during 1873, White wrote:

> "Me Love,
>
> . . . I am in the biggest hotel in Boston. . .
>
> a cold drizzly and dreary rain and thro' that

> the Boston City Hall. The last enough to make a man sad."[55]

Such was the changing attitude towards an architectural style during the century of the battle of the styles.

In New York City, young contemporaries took the place of family as Richard Grant White laments on August 22, 1874:

> "Dear Nina,
>
> . . . On Thurs. eveg. I asked the boys to go with me to Thomas's Wagner Concert. But Stan was already engaged to go with the immortal Babb."[56]

McKim, Mead and Bigelow set up practice together in 1877, the year in which they, together with White, took their celebrated trip along the New England coast, searching out, sketching and recording examples of Colonial architecture. The following year White left Richardson's office, took his first trip to Europe where he travelled with McKim and Augustus Saint-Gaudens, and on returning to New York City replaced Bigelow as the third member of the architectural partnership. Their practice during the first year did not have an overabundance of commissions, but all too quickly they were swamped with work as Stanford's father perceived in writing to his wife in a letter dated July, presumably of 1880.

> ". . . I don't see him /Stan/ at breakfast at all, and at dinner only about twice a week. . . . And then after dinner he don't stoppatome more than 10-15 minutes, but is off to the Benedict

> /where other young batchelor architects lived, on Washington Square/. He is working too hard, and I am anxious about him all the time. I spoke to him about it, and his reply was 'Well father'--he always calls me father when he thinks I'm a bore, papa at other times--'the work must be done. . . .'"

Or again on Friday, 20 October:

> "My dear little Nina,
>
> . . . Poor Stan is driven crazy with work on his hands. I have seen him but twice since I saw you and then only for a minute or two at the house. He will be worked and fretted to death."[57]

McKim introduced White to the Smith family of St. James, Long Island, during 1880 and soon Stanford was charmed and delighted with the thirteenth and youngest daughter of Judge J. Lawrence Smith,--Miss Bessie Springs Smith, who like Stanford could trace her lineage back to the seventeenth century. Stan and Bessie were married on February 7, 1884, in New York City and thereafter spent six months travelling in Europe. Bessie's letters to her sister Prescott (Mrs. P.H. Butler) were full of exuberance and joy, but she obviously looked forward to their return to the United States. On June 5 she wrote:

> "My dear Prescott,
>
> . . . but still New York is also the world and as I have said before and still continue to say the world is lovely if you only look at it in the

> right way. . . . Oh for a swim in the harbor just this minute!!!!"

and again from Venice on July 9, 1884:

> "Loved Venice (except for the fleas) where we lived in grand style and are the swells since Mr. & Mrs. Astor's exit."[58]

Returning to the States, Bessie and Stan set up house in the city and at St. James, Long Island, on Carmen's Hill. They paid $350 per year for the estate and house. The property belonged to a Mrs. S.B. Atterbury and White informed her that if and when she concluded to dispose of the property he would be willing to buy. Mrs. Atterbury decided to sell in 1892, and White paid $25,000 for the estate. The house as White modified it was T-shaped in plan with high pitched gable roofs, dormers, modillion cornices, circular headed and Palladian windows in the gable ends, sash windows at second storey and a continuous porch linked to a large enclosed conservatory at ground level consisting of slender, almost Adamesque, fluted Roman Doric columns and a refined cornice (Fig.4). Internally, a low ceilinged entrance corridor (Fig.5) linked both sides of the house. Along one side of this entrance were six twisted columns with vine decoration miniatures of those designed by Bernini for the giant baldacchino in St. Peter's, Rome. Pairs of columns were placed on either side of two doors leading off the hall; the remaining two were in the corners. Rugs covered the tiled floor; clocks, candelabra and sculpture filled the remaining space, and split bamboo covered

walls and ceiling. At one end of the hall was a recess (Figs.6, 7), included in which was a sixteenth century fireplace and staircase in apple green tiles to the upper floors. At the bottom of the stepped balustrade of the stair, on which stood potted plants, were two bronze guardian lions. Polar bear skins and more foliage filled the fireplace area. Chippendale and Federal style furniture filled the Dutch tiled dining room; and Majolica plates covered the walls and two large oriental pots contained orange trees (Figs.8,9). The drawing room (Fig.10), again with low ceiling of split bamboo panels between exposed wrought iron beams spanning the room, was comfortably furnished with a whole range and assortment of periods and styles.[59]

White's design ability spread into the garden at St. James which was sumptuously laid out with potted plants, bushes and small movable trees in large pots along driveways and dispersed throughout the multi-variety foliated landscape. Pergolas and pavilions of classical design were placed in the landscape in addition to an occasional sarcophagus and pieces of sculpture. Carmen's Hill had been a haunt of picnickers well before the Whites settled there. On one summer's day the Episcopal minister, the Rev. Timonthy O'Slap, took his parishioners to the hill where they discovered, according to the Long Islander, the local newspaper, "a low curious looking seat, copied we believe after an ancient Greek model and surrounded by classic statues absolutely devoid of all clothing. . . . O'Slap and the parishioners fled in confusion at such shameless and conspicuous nudity."

Later O'Slap and the parishioners returned "to destroy the offensive statues, but it resulted in a hasty retreat, a large dog having attacked the party and deprived the Rev. O'Slap of the greater portion of an unmentionable part of his trowsers." Stanford later brought in Pinkerton detectives. The article, which was copied by hand, obviously relished and treasured, and which now forms part of the New York Historical Society Stanford White collection, concluded, "We hope, however, that this attempt to introduce the immorality of Italy and of France into our own midst will be resisted to the end. The honor of Long Island must be upheld and the purity of her daughters be assured, at all hazards."[60]

It was at St. James that Bessie gave birth to a son who died in early chilhood in August 1885. Their second son and only other child, Lawrence Grant White, was born on September 26, 1887.

The Whites' town house in Gramercy Park on the corner of Lexington Avenue and Twenty-first Street was even more lavish. Renaissance furniture, sculpture, bas-reliefs, paintings including some by Holbein, mantels, doors, tapestries, rugs, animal skins and other art objects abounded. All major rooms had columns and pilasters dividing velvet wall surfaces into bays; numerous paintings were hung on the walls; small potted trees and plants filled corners; and one room even had a cartouche of papal tiara and keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. Marble stairs rose from the tiled entry hall which abounded in relief sculp-

tures, terra cotta coats of arms, ferns and potted plants. Two marble Corinthian columns supporting a frieze of Greek vine scroll visually divided the stair well from the hall at piano nobile level, the stair balustrade consisting of twisted Stuart period spindles and the hall pilastered to complement the Corinthian columns. The hall led to the drawing room, with twisted columns similar to those at Carmen's Hill, including a pair on either side of a Rococo mirror supporting a delicate broken pediment and all framing a miniature statuette of Saint-Gaudens "Diana," reproduced by Tiffany's and reflected in the mirror behind (Fig.11). Ceiling panels were filled with seventeenth century paintings. Georgian paneling and an Adam mantel gave a restrained touch to the writing room, but the music room was almost as grand as that at the Villard Mansion, but without the La Farge touch and the reproductions of Luca Della Robia panels. Stringed instruments hung on the walls in addition to paintings and mirrors, and ceiling chandeliers hung above nine harps and a grand piano. At attic level, or at least just below skylights in the roof, existed a room of English or Low Countries mannerist sixteenth century heaviness. Horse-hair upholstery, tapestries, paintings, antlers and a moose head above a bold stone fireplace completed the scene.

THE CLIENTS

At the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, commissions for the palatial homes of industrial entrepreneurs offered American architects perhaps unprecedented

opportunities for creativity, and certainly their greatest opportunities for handsome fees. But, as Vincent Scully observed in his essay "American Houses: Thomas Jefferson to Frank Lloyd Wright," "We ask ourselves about the clients. Did they know what they had or what had swallowed them? Here more work surely needs to be done."[61] What, in short, was the role and function of the client in shaping these individualistic architectural monuments to American wealth? Most of the architect-client relationships that created palatial domestic architecture remain clouded in obscurity for lack of detailed records. Even when financial statements, letters, and diaries relating to a building project have survived, they rarely reveal a client willing or able to evaluate the aesthetic qualities of the architecture.

In the New York Historical Society archive of McKim, Mead and White, there exists only one collection of correspondence, sufficiently complete, to provide a thorough understanding of architect-client relationships between Stanford White and Clarence and Katherine Mackay. The remainder of the archive has the flimsiest of information even on quite famous personages such as J.P. Morgan, the Astors or the Vanderbilts. Of the remainder, some of the clients are quite obscure. Fewer than fifty of them are mentioned in the popular National Cyclopedia of American Biography begun in 1895, articles which were paid for and written on the basis of information provided by the biographee. Only two clients wrote autobiographies, Henry Villard and Joseph H. Choate,[62] and a mere dozen including Villard and Choate have biographers who invariably include a

large portion of trivia. Newspapermen of the calibre of Pulitzer, Patterson, Villard and Bennett have biographers, as do the ambassador to Great Britain Joseph H. Choate, Secretary of the Navy W.C. Whitney, president of New York University Henry M. Mac Cracken, inventor of the reaper Cyrus McCormick, and the famous financier J. Pierpont Morgan.[63] Pulitzer's biographer W.A. Swanberg quotes a letter from White and another from Pulitzer to the firm concerning the design of his house on Seventy-third Street, New York City.[64] Of the six biographies of Morgan, none mention White's design for the Metropolitan Club financed by Morgan, except for the fact that he occasionally dined there. James Gordon Bennett's biographer Don Carlos Seitz mentions that White designed the New York Herald building but is far more interested in a silver desk set which White recommended to Bennett having seen it at Tiffany's. The price was $2,500, and Seitz provides a meticulous description of how it was ultimately acquired for $750.[65] Likewise W.C. Whitney's brownstone French chateau at Sixty-eighth Street and Fifth Avenue, which White converted, is only mentioned by biographer M.D. Hirsch because it had the largest private ballroom in New York City, measuring 63'x45'x45' high.[66]

White never philosophized concerning his designs nor wrote an autobiography commenting upon his clients as did, for example, Frank Lloyd Wright, so that it is difficult to project client-architect relationships. Leonard K. Eaton was more successful in his study on Two Chicago Architects and Their Clients: Frank

Lloyd Wright and Howard van Doren Shaw (Cambridge, Mass., 1969) mainly because there have been numerous articles of Wright's clients in a variety of publications such as Eaton's study of the Bannerstone House, Springfield, Illinois. Herbert and Katherine Jacobs's memoir on Building with Frank Lloyd Wright, and Terry B. Morton's study of the Pope-Leighey House, Virginia,[67] in addition to the large number of general articles and books on Wright. Eaton chose a controlled group of men and women, who lived in Chicago at the turn of the century, some of whom had readily accepted the radical innovative qualities of Wright, and the others, of a more traditional, conservative frame of mind who elected Shaw as their architect. The study intended to show that clients of differing background, social position, education and employment commissioned the type of architect who would satisfy their particular needs. Fourteen clients of Wright and thirteen of Shaw were analysed and it was found that with the exception of Avery Coonley, an Ivy League graduate of inherited wealth, Wright's clients were middle-class, Mid-Western, Protestant, Republican, small manufacturers or traders, some of whom were inventive and artistic in that they played musical instruments or performed in musical groups. They were family oriented, individualistic and had a "fresh vision" and usually lacked a formal education. Shaw's clients, on the other hand, did not buy small plots in middle-class gridded Oak Park, but large tracts in Lake Forest, Illinois. They were successful in business and devoted a large measure of their time to social and sport activities. "An important minority took an active interest in the Art Institute. For the

most part, however, they were intensely competitive, viewing business as a kind of war. . . . None was musical and none was an inventor."[68] Many attended Ivy League schools, joined social and sports clubs, were Republican in their politics and wanted their houses to be designed for receptions or formal dinner parties and incidentally preferred one of the historic styles as the basis of its design to be filled with historic interiors and conservative paintings.

Eaton was ready to admit that "despite the increasing homogenization of the country, the polarity of the architecture of the Midwest and that of the Eastern seaboard is one of the most basic tensions in American culture."[69] Even so he was willing to concede that in proportion, dignity, distinction and quality the houses of Shaw "may quite reasonably be compared with the town houses of McKim, Mead and White in New York City. Here, too, we have elegant if eclectic, solutions for an extremely conservative clientele."[70]

There are some basic similarities between the conservative Midwestern clients of Shaw and those of Stanford White but the differences are significant. White himself was descended from seventeenth century English Colonists. So too were a majority of his clients and most were born into great wealth. Most were schooled at Harvard or Yale and trained in the law, not with the aim of becoming lawyers but in order to manage the real estate, newspapers, railways, banks and industries which were handed down to them. Many were inter-related, were paternalistic in their

philanthropic works and were Republican.

In looking at White's clients, it would seem reasonable to divide them into three basic categories. Firstly, those clients for residential commissions who were conservative-traditionalists, not of the Midwestern Shaw variety but rather the white, Anglo-Saxon Protestants of the Eastern establishment. Secondly, the misfits. That is, those like Avery Coonley, who was not a typically Wrightian client, who went to White for a residence for the reason that McKim, Mead and White became more and more architects of the establishment. Thirdly, the wealthy entrepreneurs who commissioned several buildings from the firm, coming back time and again because of the satisfaction gained from a status building from an architectural organization which progressively became the most prestigious in the United States. Some clients or committees commissioned major buildings for a variety of reasons other than for the preservation of the existing order.

RESIDENTIAL ARCHITECTURE FOR THE FINANCIAL MUGHALS AND ROBBER BARONS (CHOATE, MORGAN, TWOMBLY, GARRETT, GOODWIN, OELRICHS, THE WHITNEYS, POOR, FISH, ARNOLD, ASTOR AND THE VANDERBILTS)[71]

White designed residences for at least a dozen exceedingly wealthy clients as opposed to those of great wealth who commissioned several structures. Of this twelve clients, seven traced their ancestors back to seventeenth century Colonists from Britain, three were educated at Harvard College, Joseph Choate staying on

at the Harvard Law School. William C. Whitney and his son Harry Payne did undergraduate work at Yale and thereafter law at Harvard and Columbia, respectively. Most were Republican in their politics but Choate and W.C. Whitney as Democrats, worked against the New York "Boss" Tweed ring in the 1874 elections and succeeded in getting Samuel J. Tilden elected governor of the State. Choate became ambassador to Great Britain under President William McKinley, 1899-1905, and W.C. Whitney, Secretary of the Navy under President Grover Cleveland, 1885-89.

Many clients were business partners. Six were in banking, insurance or financial investments, six in railroads and two in large scale real estate. John Garrett of Baltimore, a Princeton graduate after service in the Civil War, succeeded his father John Work Garrett as president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, 1884-87. His father had extended the system to Pittsburgh and Chicago, but John linked the railroad to Philadelphia and paralleled his railroad activities with a telegraph system. He then worked with John W. Mackay, father of Clarence and Katherine Mackay for whom White designed "Harbor Hill," Roslyn, L.I., and with James Gordon Bennett, a client of five designs by White. James Junius Goodwin was cousin and partner of John Pierpont Morgan for whom McKim, Mead and White did extensive work. These are just two examples of the inter-related partnerships which existed between the clients of White. Marriage provided another link. Hamilton McKown Twombly married the grand-daughter of Commodore Vanderbilt and this led to his management of the New

York Central Railroad with William Henry Vanderbilt, Twombly's father-in-law and brothers-in-law William Kissam, Frederick William and Cornelius. William Henry doubled the Vanderbilt family fortune to $200 million and employed Richard Morris Hunt for his chateau at 660 Fifth Avenue. It was his daughter-in-law and wife of Cornelius who commissioned White to design the porch of St. Bartholomew's Church as a memorial to her husband who died in 1899, and it was William Kissam who chose White, after the death of Hunt for 666 Fifth Avenue, really as an extension to the Hunt chateau, 1904-1907.

Harry Payne Whitney married Gertrude, daughter of Cornelius Vanderbilt, and like so many of the clients of this group had strong club affiliations. Sports and social clubs were of paramount importance and whereas William C. Whitney had merely bred horses, Harry Payne raced them, established polo as a popular sport and apparently played exceedingly well.

Edwin Denison Morgan, grandson of the Republican governor of New York from 1859 to 1863, for whom White and Saint-Gaudens designed a mausoleum, used his wealth to devote a large portion of his time to horsemanship, boxing and rowing as a student at Harvard and in adult life.

A few clients were involved in the Metropolitan Museum of Art and other educational projects and philanthropic organizations. Harry Payne Whitney, for example, gave three quarters of a

million dollars for a new wing to be added to the American Museum of Natural History.

William Henry Poor of seventeenth century English descent graduated from Harvard, first published Poor's Railroad Manual in 1868, and other similar publications all of which were continually republished and handled securities for the railroads. A collector of artworks, and a member of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, he was associated with numerous New York clubs. White's town house for the Poors was close to his own at 1 Lexington Avenue, 1899-1901. Henry and his wife Constance were satisfied, enraptured and delighted at what they considered "the most beautiful house in the world. . . . it embodies so much of your own personality and charm," wrote Poor on March 18, 1901. He continued, "I have Constance's word for it and add my own, that the amount of continued enjoyment of living in it will depend largely upon how often we see you there with us again."[72]

Clarence and Katherine Mackay to a large extent fit into this grouping of clients but since their correspondence with White is so extensive, they require a section to themselves.

CLARENCE AND KATHERINE MACKAY

In contrast to the usual dearth of architectural records, the papers of McKim, Mead and White are a hoard of information such as the architectural historian can only rarely hope to find. Among the four tons of papers that constitute the firm's archives,

the thickest correspondence file concerns the house and church at Roslyn, Long Island, designed by Stanford White for Clarence and Katherine Mackay. It is unfortunate that the firm of McKim, Mead and White did not preserve copies of all outgoing letters, nor did the Mackays save all of White's communications; but enough correspondence has survived to provide a rare and vivid picture of a relationship that evolved between architect and client on these two projects.

Clarence Hungerford Mackay was born in San Francisco on April 17, 1874, and was educated in Paris and in Windsor, England, before he joined his father's New York business office. John William Mackay, Clarence's father, had emigrated from Ireland and began as a miner first in California and then in Nevada where he made his fortune in the Virginia City Bonanza Mine of the Comstock Lode. He and his three partners had shared $300 million in the first six years of the mine's operation. Thereafter he invested in the Commercial Cable and the Postal Telegraph companies, both of which he helped to found. Clarence became a director of the companies in 1894, at the age of twenty, and vice president a year later. On May 17, 1898, at twenty-four, Clarence married Katherine Alexander Duer, the descendant of an old Knickerbocker family and the daughter of the eminent New York lawyer William Alexander Duer.[73] The newly wed Mackays set up housekeeping at Wheatley Hills, Long Island, and at 12 West Sixty-third Street, New York City. Their close friends in the yachting and horse-racing set included the families of Harry Payne Whitney, William C. Whitney, E.D. Morgan, and the Vanderbilts, the Twombleys, and

the Oelrichs, all of whom, at one time or another, employed McKim, Mead and White.

Seven months after their marriage, the Mackays' Long Island home, which had been leased from Perry Tiffany, burned owing to a malfunctioning flue. At this point, John Mackay offered to build a mansion to suit the wishes of his daughter-in-law on 648 acres of land at Roslyn, twenty miles east of Manhattan on Long Island. He had earlier purchased 150 acres of the tract as a wedding present for Katherine. The Harbor Hill site lay 368 feet above sea level, and bordered on the properties of William C. Whitney and Harry Payne Whitney. The senior Mackay died in 1902 before completion of the house, and Clarence inherited $500 million worth of silver mines and telegraph and cable services, which became known as the Mackay System of Communications. With such wealth in an era before the income tax, Clarence Mackay could well afford a mansion and its contents that ultimately cost $6 million.[74] The turbulent relationship that developed between Stanford White and the Mackays, as well as the respective tastes and temperaments of architect and client, are revealed in the Harbor Hill records. The concerned and involved reactions of the Mackays to White's design proposals suggest that as in the instances of other private commissions by wealthy clients, the clients took an individualistic pride in arranging details and in providing informed criticism--sometimes too much criticism.

Clarence Mackay may have been a keen businessman, but his wife ruled their home as her correspondence with White shows. Nor were her energies exhausted by her increasing preoccupation with architects, builders, and contractors from 1899 to 1907. In addition to being a social leader of the New York area, she was active in community philanthropic concerns. She was a founding organizer and a director of the Equal Franchise Society, which agitated for the enfranchisement of women, and she spoke at suffragette rallies in Carnegie Hall. Many of the Franchise Society's ideals were discussed and developed at New York City's Colony Club, which was designed by White in 1905 and where Katherine was a member. "Mrs. Mackay," as one observer recalled, "was a beautiful, vivacious woman, who entertained brilliantly the world's great and /still/ involved herself whole heartedly in the /local/ school board and with her husband gave the land on which the high school stands."[75]

It should come as no surprise that Katherine Mackay's first letter to Stanford White, dated July 24, /1899/, probably after White had met the couple at Newport, conveyed the characteristic determination with which she attacked a project.

> "I have decided to begin on those plans at once so will you express me as soon as you get this, some books about and drawings of Louis XIV chateaux. Very severe style preferred. Also of halls Henry II (French) staircases Henry II. Should you be coming to Newport the end of this

> week I should be glad as I really want to begin at once. On enclosed sheet you will find my idea of ground floor. Upstairs will have to be explained to you verbally. Hope you will give this your immediate attention."[76]

Katherine's determination to build a seventeenth-century chateau may have been her own idea, or the decision to select the Louis XIV style may have evolved from suggestions by White. With his vast knowledge of period styles and sources, White proved a capable mentor in guiding his clients toward appealing models and toward generally greater architectural literacy.

Katherine wrote to White from Newport on July 27, 1899, "Your letter, your sketches and your books arrived. Thank you."[77] Presumably one of the books sent was that by Claude Sauvageot, Palais, Châteaux, Hôtels et Maisons de France du XV^{e} au XVIII^{e} Siècle, Paris, 1867. It is in this publication that elevations and details similar to "Harbor Hill," (Fig.70) the Mackay Estate at Roslyn, Long Island, are to be found. Katherine continued,

> "The plan where the sides project is what I meant. I have made notes on it to give you points. I do mean a very severe house. The style of the full front view of Maisons-Laffite (Fig. 71) comes nearest to what I mean. And even that has the windows too ornate to suit us. I want my floor on the north side over the library. . . . Also: over the hall facing the water a suite for

Clarie the same as mine. . . ."[78]

The Maisons-Laffite, 1642-46, by François Mansart, which was mentioned as a source of ideas is better known as the Chateau de Maisons (Fig.71). But Mansart's design is, in all respects, far more ornate than Harbor Hill. It seems to have served as White's model, although certain simpler facets displayed in some plates from Claude Sauvageot's four-volume Palais, Châteaux, Hôtels et Maisons de France du XV^{e} au XVIII^{e} Siècle, may have influenced particular aspects of the design. The plate of the "Hôtel de Vogué à Dijon," shows a facade treatment that, although asymmetrical and displaying ornate window pediments, is nevertheless similar to that of the Mackay house (Fig.70). The end pavilions, the central composition and the termination of the roof at the eaves were similar, but Harbor Hill was not as tightly knit and its length was closer to that of the Château de Maisons. The plate of the entrance to the "Hôtel de Montescot," (Fig.73) shows a doorway closely matching the one at Harbor Hill (Fig.74). Both the Hôtel de Vogué and the Hôtel de Montescot were seventeenth-century edifices. Possibly White included Sauvageot's publication or ideas from it among the books and sketches he sent to Katherine in February 1899. Certainly the Mackays knew of Sauvageot's volumes by the time the construction was completed. In a letter dated February 24, 1903, Clarence queried, "By the way, can you get for me a copy of Sauvageot's Palais et Châteaux de France, as I should like to have it very much."

Harbor Hill was recognized by contemporaries as a significant achievement in domestic architecture not only in the design of the structure itself but also in the design of its landscape setting. Herbert Croly, writing about the Mackay estate, linked its landscape architecture to general trends in American life.

> "The increasing tendency on the part of Americans to live more in the country, and to take more interest in their country places is having an important effect upon American practice. Landscape architecture is becoming a well organized department of architectural design. . . to soften the architecture, sometimes to complete and enhance certain native landscape effects, or sometimes to add a spectacular and dramatic quality to certain peculiar points of view."[79]

The Mackay estate, one mile square, had about 70 acres under cultivation; the remainder, approximately 500 acres of oak, chestnut, and cedar, with dogwood, laurel, and undergrowth, created a natural setting for the Harbor Hill house on top of a hill overlooking Hempstead Harbor. The gatehouse still stands (Fig.18). Symmetrically positioned on a corner of the site, the irregular floor plan and outline recall the many medieval French stone farmhouses White admired during his early excursions. The driveway wound through the landscape until it entered a sphere of formality within viewing distance of the chateau. Even with Clarence's care in preserving existing groves of trees, the final cost of the meandering drive was approximately $150,000.[80] "The object had been to make a park--not a French park, after

the model of Fontainebleau, but a park which shall keep its native American character," wrote Croly.[81] His essay did as much to establish respect for the growing profession of landscape architecture as it did to compliment Guy Lowell, the landscape architect of Harbor Hill, who "has sought above all for simplicity and propriety of effect; and in seeking for these simple effects, he has used the simplest means."[82] The result was a simple landscape setting for a plain seventeenth-century chateau.

In addition to the house and gatehouse designed by Stanford White, the estate included stables decidedly French but with Michelangelesque mannerisms, farm buildings and kennels in a variety of stick and Eastlake styles, and a polo pony stable, barns, dairies, and appurtenances--all designed by Warren and Wetmore. The change in architects after the completion of the main house and prior to the beginning of the outbuildings can be attributed to the strained relationships resulting from such a protracted project carried out on such a grandiose scale. Despite Clarence Mackay's occasional pique at White's expensive impulses in interior decoration, the open breakdown of the relationship resulted, not from the problems at Harbor Hill, but, after White's death, from Katherine's demands upon the McKim, Mead and White firm during the construction of Trinity Church and parish house (Fig.81). Katherine had conceived these Episcopal structures as a memorial to her parents, and, although he was a Roman Catholic, Clarence Mackay paid for both. Katherine intended to replace the old church at a cost of not

more than $40,000 plus $5,000 for landscaping. Many of Katherine's letters to White about the Trinity project are undated, but her caustic tone provides an obvious chronology.

> "The drawings came last night. I think the plans for the interior are excellent but I do not like the exterior; it is not only high and ugly, but it is unfriendly. . . . Bring me some ideas on Tuesday when you come down here and please do not think me a nuisance."[83]

which is probably what White came to think her. White always gave of his best, but as a creative architect he could not have appreciated Katherine's dictatorial attitude nor her description of his building as ugly. She continued:

> "As far as the altar trimmings are concerned . . . make me three designs; one very simple, one moderately so and an elaborate one (cross, 2 vases and two candlesticks)."[84]

Possibly White ignored Katherine's demands, or possibly he was too busy to revise designs continually. The result was a letter that commanded: "Listen and <u>think</u>."[85] Telling White to think and underlining the command was no way to a smooth relationship. The letter continues:

> "I do not like the altar and window arrangement. Can't we marry the altars to the window by connecting them with flat columns or some frame?" Additionally, Katherine required that the internal finish be "either grey oak (like our hall) or. . . 'mission' green as we planned

for the pews, wood trim and rafters."[86]

Construction of the church dragged on; White died in 1906, and then Katherine addressed her peremptory notes to the firm. "When Mr. White designed the interior of the church," she wrote,

> "he told me the rafters, trim and chancel furniture and pews would all be of the same color and all furnishings in the same manner as our hall here in Harbor Hill. When I first saw the completed church I was horribly shocked to find hideous dark brown rafters. . . . Now what I want the firm of McKim, Mead and White to do is this: Correct their error in the color of those rafters and trim at their own expense. . . . I want samples submitted to me and I want you to see that this work is started by Monday next."[87]

Obviously someone in the office, possibly William Kendall, one of the partners, tried to explain or to reason with her but to no avail, because the flow of correspondence continued.

> "Answer me only the questions I have asked. . . . As your firm is paying for the alteration of the roof for the organ space you will oblige me by seeing this work is completed before May 1st. I want the workmen out of there for good."[88]

On February 6, 1907, George Varney, the contractor, wrote Mrs. Mackay that he was losing $11,000 on the church. He felt "that it would not be asking too much to ask you to consider doing

your part toward straightening out the present business tangle in which we find ourselves." If Mrs. Mackay and six other clients for whom Varney was contracting each contributed $3,500, the firm would be able to avoid bankruptcy.

Katherine wrote to the firm on March 6, 1907,

> "It is impossible for me to express my annoyance at your firm for the trouble the contractor has given me. Mr. White personally requested me to employ Varney. . . . Unless the church is completed /by March 22/ I give fair warning that your firm need never consider me as your customer in future for my private or public buildings in which I may be interested."

Varney then informed McKim, Mead and White on March 5, 1907,

> "that it is impossible to make any arrangements with Mrs. Mackay regarding our continuance of the Trinity Church work at Roslyn, and our contract has accordingly been cancelled by the owner and architects."

As a result of Varney's withdrawal, the suppliers of building materials used on the church sued Mrs. Mackay. Up to the annulment of the contract and the assignment, Mrs. Mackay had paid $27,361 of what was to be a final cost of $44,242.17, including the price of the organ. She wrote McKim, Mead and White that Stanford White had recommended George Varney for the work and that she would never again be a client of the firm. One

draft of a letter from McKim, Mead and White which was apparently never sent still exists in the correspondence. It was addressed to Katherine's lawyer.

> "There has been a terrible time about the Roslyn church today [March 8, 1907]. Mrs. Mackay is in a perfect rage because Varney and Co. have failed and liens have been placed on the church which she must pay off before the church can be consecrated."

With beautifully phrased understatement, the letter continued:

> "Womanlike, she does not understand the matter and is blaming the office in a wholesale way, although of course we are in no way responsible for this unfortunate occurrence."[89]

It could reasonably be asked where Katherine gained her acumen and insight into architecture and her stylistic preferences. Unfortunately, she is not mentioned in biographical dictionaries except as one of three daughters of William Alexander Duer and the wife of Clarence. Correspondence with two of her three children still living has proved fruitless. William B. Mackay, the only son and Ellen Mackay, wife of the composer Irving Berlin, know almost nothing of their mother's education. In a letter to the author from Ellen Berlin, dated July 14, 1974, she states:

> "My mother did not go to college. She attended 'classes' as many schools in her day seem to have been called, but whose classes, I do not

> know. Mother was indeed a brilliant woman and she was widely read. I think in her time and in mine and even now a great deal of one's education begins in one's parents and sometimes grandparents libraries. Both mother and my father gave me not only books but a love of books. . . . Mother and her contemporaries (few of whom went to college) had a wide knowledge of literature, art, all kinds of things including politics. . . . . My mother never stopped learning, never stopped reading and rereading poetry, philosophy, history, fiction. All her life, reading was her great pleasure."

Travel must also have been another pleasure, especially if Katherine and Clarence made tours of Europe in early married life as so many of their contemporaries did. Who knows, Katherine may actually have visited the Maison Laffite. Katherine was maternalistic in her local philanthropies, but as a chattel to her more than considerate husband, she strongly supported the franchise of women. As a militant, she therefore objected to being treated as a mere woman and like so many liberationists, liked to show that she was the equal of a man especially when she trapped the male in an act of incompetence or stupidity. Admittedly many of her criticisms were totally justifiable in dealing with architects, builders and contractors, but invariably errors result from pushing people too hard, being overbearingly demanding and requiring tomorrow's work completed

yesterday. The fact that George Varney, the general contractor went bankrupt cannot be considered as a logical criticism of White or of the firm. Even the best of contractors occasionally over-extend themselves with disastrous results. Neither White nor any other competent architect could see or foretell such a resultant situation, and to blame White or the firm was unfair. Admittedly Katherine was placed in a frustrating situation, but life consists of such annoyances and each must be handled accordingly. It is the architect's responsibility to make recommendations to clients concerning contractors and White probably made the recommendation on past satisfactory performances by Varney. To strike out indiscriminantly at the most obvious and vulnerable person, the deceased White, or his firm at this awkward period, is typical of the spoilt child and domineering woman. To further threaten that the firm would never again be employed by Katherine was probably a statement welcomed at number 60 Broadway.

The church and its parish hall still stand although a wooden parsonage separating the two structures has been razed. Stanford White adapted an English variant of the Romanesque style, usually called Norman, for the church, and he chose Harvard bricks, headers only exposed, as the material of loadbearing wall construction. The rather mean and thin result relies on the mid-thirteenth-century structure of Saint Michael's, Long Stanton, Cambridgeshire, England, for its buttressed end gable, via the work of Richard Upjohn or John Notman. The roof trusses,

the hammerbeams, and the king post, all of yellow pine, also express the Upjohn tradition, which decidedly influenced the religious architecture of Henry Hobson Richardson.

Despite the Mackays' relatively brief tenure together at Harbor Hill, from 1902-13, with the creative guidance of Stanford White they did succeed in creating a style of affluent opulence at their "simple" seventeenth-century French revival chateau. It seems appropriate to recall the grandeur of their creation with a description of Harbor Hill by the British husband of Mrs. Bessy Wallis Warfield Spencer Simpson:

> "My American hosts spared no expence in demonstrating the splendour of a modern industrial republic. Not one but two orchestras and the stars of popular Broadway revues were brought out from New York in relays to provide entertainment at parties that lasted till dawn. Perhaps the most elaborate of all these was the one given by the late Mr. Clarence H. Mackay at his country home Harbor Hill. A copy of a French chateau it stood on top of a wooded rise overlooking Long Island Sound. I spent the day going through the place, marvelling at all it contained. The art treasures alone would have sufficed the needs of an ordinary museum, and I particularly remember a vast hall lined with figures in armour that had been obtained from various old European collections. Now paintings, tapestries, old

> china, and armour would have been commonplace enough in a British country house; what was surprising was to find on the same property a squash-racquet court, a gymnasium, an indoor swimming pool, and a Turkish bath."[90]

THE MISFITS:

(HARTSHORN, McCORMICK, BELL, TIFFANY, VILLARD, HOLMES, ADAMS, REID, CHENEY, GOUCHER, PATTERSON, PAGE, POPE, PULITZER, WANAMAKER, HANNA)[91]

The misfits are so called because they were not born to wealth, increasing their forebear's fortunes on the basis of developing business interests. The misfits may have had comfortable beginnings but were essentially self-made men and are in distinct contrast as clients to the robber barons and finance mughals.

Stewart Hartshorn, although of seventeenth century Colonial stock, was born in Nashville, Tennessee, and with his brother manufactured and patented spool-operated window shade rollers. With business success he purchased an estate consisting of fifty-two acres of land at Springfield, N.J., where he built a suburb away from commercial developments. He became president of the Hartshorn Estate which ultimately expanded to 1552 acres centered on a community building by White and fifty-two houses each of a different design by McKim, 1879-80, or Lamb and Rich of New York. Hartshorn was thus a self-made man as was Cyrus Hall McCormick, inventor of the reaper in 1831. His father, a blacksmith of

Rockbridge County, Virginia, had experimented with the reaper, but Cyrus developed it upon a different principle. He then produced it locally until 1847 when he built a factory in Chicago. Thereafter it was introduced into England in 1851 and slightly later into Europe.

Charles Lewis Tiffany's father was a pioneer of manufactured (as opposed to tailor made) cotton goods. It was thus the success of his father which provided the $500 for Charles to establish his own retail business of fancy wares. This led to the importation and selling of French imitation jewellery in 1844. Only six years later, Tiffany was the leading silversmith and jeweller in the United States.

Henry Villard obviously employed McKim, Mead and White because he had known McKim as a young man and recommended the office of Russell Sturgis as a suitable office in which to begin his architectural career. McKim also knew Villard socially since Lucy McKim had married the son of William Lloyd Garrison whose sister was Villard's wife.

Villard was Bavarian by birth and after emigrating to the United States in 1853 worked as a journalist and later as a representative of foreign bondholders of the Oregon and California Railroad Company. He extended the Company's track and in order to link with the Northern Pacific Railroad Company raised enough money to buy out Jay Cooke's interests. His ideas on centralization of all resources were expressed in his Early History of

Transportation in Oregon, 1900. Part of Villard's extensive planning involved the need for a station and hotel at Portland, Oregon for which designs and drawings were made by McKim, Mead and White, but although the hotel began construction, Villard's financial downfall led to a reorganization of the railroad after which other architects were employed; the site of the station was changed and the commission reawarded.

During 1880 Villard purchased the half-block site on Madison Avenue, New York, between Fiftieth and Fifty-first Streets from the Archdiocese of New York, for six houses. Designs of the first house were made in 1882 and Villard took occupancy in July, 1883, but only five months later in December he was forced to move out and abandon the idea of completing the housing group around a courtyard. He ultimately sold the house to Whitelaw Reid in 1886 for $450,000.[92] Whitelaw Reid had married Elizabeth, daughter of Darius Ogden Mills of the Madison Square Garden Company in 1881; she became famous for her philanthropic works.

The other five houses completed at about that time were not built by Villard, but by their respective owners after purchasing the land from him. Artemis Holmes, a well-known New York lawyer of Holmes and Adams purchased number 453 Madison Avenue (the Villard Mansion was number 451) and wrote to White on January 5, 1885 that he wanted to use Mr. Jones, architect,". . . because I did not wish to incur the expense which I was sure would follow if I employed your firm. Mr. Mead thought it was impracticable to

have separate Architects under the scheme; Mr. McKim disagreed with Mr. Mead. . . Mr. Villard subsequently requested me to have you. . . . When Mr. Adams bought from Mr. Oaties, the same matters were gone over again. . . ."[93] Edward Dean Adams, the banker, director of numerous companies, president of the Niagara Falls Power Company and collaborator with Morgan and Vanderbilt in several projects, purchased number 455. Harris C. Fahnstock, another banker of German descent, a Republican and trustee of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, bought number 457, which faces the Villard house across the courtyard, and the fifth and sixth houses, entered from 22 and 24 East Fifty-first Street (Figs.55, 56).[94] Even though the matter of expense was raised by Adams, he came back to the firm in 1888 for another weekend house at Rumsden's Neck, N.J..

While in Richardson's office during 1876 and 1878 White designed two houses at South Manchester, Connecticut, for the brothers Rush and James Cheney. The Cheneys were silk manufacturers, having begun as farmers who experimented with a variety of mulberry tree for raising silkworms which was introduced into the United States in 1826. In 1854 the Cheney Brothers Silk Manufacturing Company was incorporated and included the three brothers James, Charles and Rufus. Rufus Cheney had four children Anne, Louise, Robert and Harry, who set up housekeeping in 1882 when they "promised not to do anything about /the/ joint property without consent of all. . . ."[95] A telegram to White on October 13, 1902, stated "When four people can't decide you

must have an umpire," or on December 14, 1903: "Once more we have come to a standstill," but ultimately Harry and Robert were "so pleased with the idea of making our house [of 1864] over into a colonial or classical house. . . ."[96] McKim, Mead and White spent considerable time and effort undoubtedly with a small margin of profit to the firm. The laundry was a problem beyond White's architectural acumen as Anne Cheney explained in an undated letter: "Do you think there is any place for us to tack a laundry on to the house? Our present laundress will flirt too much with the good looking coachman and do no work if we put it down by the stable as arranged last autumn. . . ."[97] Even a house built for one of the Cheney Brothers' superintendents had to be constructed for $6,000 in 1905. A drawing by Robert Cheney was enclosed in a letter of April 3, with the comment, "How about something of this order? which seems simple and dignified, if proportion be correct. . . . I only throw this out as a suggestion, not <u>in any way to influence you</u> [doubly underlined], if you have other plans in mind. . . ."[98]

Other than these inventors, manufacturers and developers, there was John Franklin Goucher, an ordained Methodist-Episcopal minister whose last pastorate was the First Methodist-Episcopal Church, Baltimore, 1882-87, designed by White who was also commissioned for the Women's College of Baltimore, 1887-94, later known as Goucher College, and for Goucher's own house in the vicinity of the church and college, at 2313 St. Paul Street, 1891-92. Also Thomas Nelson Page, an author, John Wanamaker, a clothier, and Leonard Colton Hanna, in wholesale groceries.

The two remaining clients in this section were journalists. Robert Wilson Patterson was the son of a Presbyterian minister who became a lawyer, journalist and ultimately editor-in-chief of the Chicago Tribune by marrying the daughter of the publisher who left a considerable fortune at his death in 1900 with which Robert and Elinor built their home at 15 Dupont Circle, Washington, D.C., 1903, where he published the Herald-Tribune.

Joseph Pulitzer, a Hungarian by birth, wrote for a German newspaper in St. Louis where he studied law. After purchasing the St. Louis Despatch and Post he combined the two newspapers into the Post-Despatch; later he bought into the New York World. A limited amount of correspondence exists between Pulitzer and the firm which changed in tone as Pulitzer got older. From Bar Harbor, Maine, on July 25, 1896, Pulitzer wrote:

> "I cannot tell you how much everybody admires your work here in connection with the Tower. As a gentleman said an hour or so ago when he went through my bedroom, 'It is really a work of art.' Let me both compliment and thank you and say specifically that I am much more than satisfied with the result. . . ."[99]

Concerning his New York town house on Seventy-third Street, White wrote "I feel certain. . . the house will be as fine a one as we have ever built."[100] To which Pulitzer reiterated that in that house he wanted

> "No ballroom, music room, or picture gallery

> under any disguise. . . . There must be no French rooms, designed or decorated to require French furniture--least of all old furniture. . . . I want an American home for comfort and use not for show or entertainment."[101]

As Pulitzer reached old age he became partially blind and cantankerous, and as his lawyer John A. McKim explained, "idiosyncratic." He continually changed his mind on his house and when White thought all was agreed upon, Pulitzer changed his mind yet again and wanted sketches in a couple of days. White tried to appease him and on February 13, 1902, stated

> "I will do whatever I can, but I do not see how it will be possible to have all you want done by Saturday, as this gives us only tomorrow and part of Saturday to work. I know one thing, and this is we have certainly made twice as many studies, and done twice as much work on this as we have ever done on any interior work before, and it is pretty hard where so many contrary orders are given, and so many changes made to know where you stand or what to do."[102]

Professor W.C. Sabine, the acoustician of Harvard, who was consulted on noises in Pulitzer's house at 7 East Seventy-third Street was ". . . satisfied of one thing--that nerves are his trouble, and it is not the part of an architect's business to supply the client with a proper set of nerves." One night the

fire department was called to extinguish a small basement fire, during which time Pulitzer did not awake. Sabine thought this proof of the sound insulation qualities throughout the house. Pulitzer was quick to criticize and make demands but was slow in paying bills for services rendered by the firm. A final bill for $4,000 of December, 1903, remained unpaid as late as July, 1904! By that time Pulitzer had employed another firm of architects, Foster, Gade and Graham, for some alterations within the house.[103]

CLIENTS OF COMMERCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL BUILDINGS:
(SHEPHERD, GOELET, J.P. MORGAN, WHITTMORE, BENNETT, MACCRACKEN, BARNEY, RUSSELL, PAYNE)[104]

Eaton's study of Wright and Shaw studied only the clients of residential architecture in and around Chicago, one or two of whom commissioned more than one house. Several of White's clients were exceedingly wealthy, and satisfaction on one structure brought them back to the firm time and again. John Howard Whittmore of Naugatuck, Connecticut, a self-made man who invested only $1,000 in the local farm tools company, commissioned nine buildings including a public library as a memorial to his eldest son, improvements to the town green and two schools, one of which was designed by White, for the town. He also gave land and donated funds for the Congregational church designed by McKim. Robert and Ogden Goelet commissioned eight buildings, including three office buildings in New York City, all designed by White. James Gordon Bennett whose sister Jeanette married Isaac Bell, another client of White, commissioned two houses, a

newspaper building, interior of a yacht and the Casino at Newport, R.I.. The Newport Reading Room had at one time disciplined him and thereafter he was considered unwelcome. He therefore built his own Casino, a tennis club which still exists, with all facilities including a restaurant and stores along the street front to provide income. He was to that extent a nonconformist, as was J.P. Morgan in building the Metropolitan Club, New York, because he, together with three of his associates had apparently been denied membership to other New York clubs; they spent just over one million dollars on the new clubhouse. Morgan also collaborated with Phineas Taylor Barnum and Darius Ogden Mills on the Madison Square Garden; Herman Oelrichs, another client, and White himself also owned shares. Morgan, of course, was an avid collector of manuscripts, Mills was a trustee of the Metropolitan Museum, and Barnum was at one time its president. Charles Tracy Barney was involved in seven structures designed by the firm and married the daughter of Harry Payne Whitney. This family connection led to a New York real estate syndicate which included his brother-in-law William C. Whitney. Two letters exist in the McKim, Mead and White archive which illustrate the ups and downs in architect-client relationships covering a series of building projects. Barney felt "outraged and indignant" in a letter of November 25, 1903,

> "at the manner in which the contractors and sub-contractors are treating us at the Knickerbocker's Building. There is no strike excuse whatsoever now to be given as a reason for the slow work."[105]

He had faith in the firm, however, and returned, although he seemed equally indignant at progress on the Colony Club when he wrote on January 10, 1907,

> "I have never been so mortified with my connection with anything before. As I calculate, it has taken us pretty nearly as long as it did to build the big University Club and look at the difference."

Clients were then and still are indignant at slow builders who procrastinate, who in the case of the Colony Club were Messrs. Jacob and Youngs.[106]

Oliver Hazard Payne also acted as a catalyst between businessmen who were variously associated with McKim, Mead and White. He purchased the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company from L.C. Hanna for whom White designed a home in Cleveland. Payne owned shares in the American Tobacco Company which merged into the Pierre Lorillard Tobacco Company which commissioned the Havanna Company store. Payne was also cured of a dangerous illness by the physician Alfred L. Loomis and thereafter gave a total of $8 million to the Cornell Medical College, New York City, organized partially by Loomis's son Henry.

Inter-marriage, business contacts and professional associates tended to consolidate mutual interests and lead to all types of alliances in banking, high finance, railroads, real estate, newspapers, steel and iron, all of which enhanced the architec-

tural practice of McKim, Mead and White. One of White's most famed commissions came through his father's alma mater, New York University. Henry Mitchell MacCracken, sixth chancellor from 1891 to 1910, wrote White a letter on January 22, 1892, the like of which most architects only dream about. It was a solicited request but turned out to be a magnificent commission.

> "Relying upon the interest that you take in the New York University, both because it was the Alma Mater of your father, Mr. Richard Grant White, of the Class of '39--a name honored among us, and because you yourself are an honorary alumnus of '81, I solicit such and in connection with our present movement as you can give, and especially in the way of professional suggestions. At this juncture, I should be very glad to have your judgment in respect to the architecture of our proposed University College buildings on 'University Heights,' as well as of the proposed University building in Washington Square, both of which are outlined dimly in the accompanying printed statements of our Committee on Needs and Endowment."[107]

White had already completed alterations to MacCracken's house "Pine Hill" at University Heights, and it was the Chancellor's aim to extend the institution from Washington Square to University Heights, a move which has since proved that MacCracken was wrong in his decision. White was salmon fishing on the Risti-

gouche in Canada when the firm wrote him on June 7, 1895: "Very satisfactory interview with MacCracken. Says no competition and your plan will be adopted by the Committee if supported by Hunt or Burnham."[108] When estimates first came in for the centerpiece of the group MacCracken wrote:

> "This figure of half a million, without ambulatory or museum, or wall, or architect's fees, or library-stacks and stairways, or furniture, or organ, or sculpture, or conduits, or plumbing, is rather bewildering. . . . I am still dissatisfied with the reading room which I fear will prove a barn-like rotunda, dimly lighted, never warm in coldest weather. Then we do not get interior richness, with 24 sham marble columns. I should have esthetic pains every time I saw them. Domes, although imposing are dreary things to live in, therefore can you not give us an alternative sketch, embodying features which would enable me conscientiously to advocate the expenditure. . . . I enclose sketch embodying my suggestions."[109]

Like so many college administrators, MacCracken wanted to be the architectural designer. White did not change what he knew to be a good design for MacCracken's whim, but he did alleviate the "esthetic pains" by advocating the use of Connemara Irish green marble for the columns at $41,000: "It is the most beautiful green marble in the world."[110] Even when nearing completion, MacCracken was still criticizing the design, arguing

that "the original line of the dome was very pleasing and satisfactory. . . /but/ to my eyes the additional circle of ornamentation /at the apex around the oculus/ seems a little too much."[111]

George A. Russell, a small fry operator, compared to the foregoing worthies, was president of the State Savings Bank of Detroit. How the commission was introduced into the office is impossible to tell but a few pieces of correspondence illustrate the effects of White's design ability upon the local Michigan banking community.

> "The drawings and beautiful perspectives came by express on Monday, and that evening they were submitted to our building committee. To say that the committee was satisfied, pleased and delighted with the building you propose for us mildly expresses their appreciation and admiration,"

wrote the president to McKim, Mead and White on February 23, 1898.[112] As the bank neared completion White received a communication of March 7, 1900, from Russell which read:

> "The /Assembly/ Room looks much larger and not so high, since the scaffolding is removed, but it is in perfect proportion, and I believe will prove a surprise to you in its beauty when it is entirely finished."

And upon completion on September 28, 1900:

> "The fame of our building has spread abroad and we are receiving special visits from other cities."[113]

Often the clients of White knew exactly what they wanted. Young Louis Comfort Tiffany, for example, outlined the gigantic steel-framed roof silhouette where his own suite of rooms would be situated in the Charles Tiffany House, 19 East Seventy-second Street, New York, 1882-85. The character of the design of the Alfred Atmore Pope residence, "Hill Stead," Farmington, Connecticut, 1898-1901,

> "--a version of Washington's Mount Vernon--was determined by Mr. Pope and his daughter Theodate, who was an architect. Because of this decision and the large amount of work Miss Pope did on the design, White reduced his usual fee."[114]

In comparing the conservative clients of Howard van Doren Shaw in Chicago with those of McKim, Mead and White, but particularly Stanford White, in New York and along the Eastern seaboard, there are certain parallels, as opposed to the individualistic clients of Frank Lloyd Wright. The major difference between the clients of Shaw and White being that the New Yorkers were among the wealthiest men in the nation. Shaw's clients were local worthies, important and wealthy with relation to the metropolitan area of Chicago. McKim, Mead and White's clients were wealthy on a national or international level. If one wanted a great cathedral or church built, one went to Ralph Adams Cram who designed in thirty-five of the United States and no less than seventy cathedrals, whether he was in partnership with Charles Wentworth, Frank W. Ferguson or Bertram Grosvenor Goodhue. For the large commercial or industrial structure, innovative

skyscraper or railroad station, one commissioned Daniel H. Burnham and Company of Chicago, who employed 200 assistants at the turn of the century. But for the really pretigious edifice, McKim, Mead and White was the great historicist firm and White the master of the expensive, coordinated residence and contents.

Having acquired wealth by inheritance or business acumen, most successful businessmen tend to be extroverted and gregarious. They worked assiduously as J.P. Morgan or allowed their successful businesses to run themselves and delegated responsibility to others most notably the younger generations of their own families who were loyal and wished to prove that they were capable of controlling the trust which had been invested in them, as the Vanderbilts. The successful were sometimes pressured onto boards of trustees of philanthropic organizations, artistic and cultural institutions and educational foundations including the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art. Their names gave prestige and credence to any board on which they served. Their friends were more willing to contribute if requests were made for financial help. Social and paternalistic incentives encouraged them to unload artifacts, artworks and repositories in which to exhibit them. The position of a board member possibly begun as a duty became a justification for existence, a part-time enjoyable pursuit, a service to their city, state or nation.

Ada Louis Huxtable has recently termed the clients of McKim, Mead and White's marble chateaux, the "Newport over achievers" in her New York Times article "The Centenary of a Famous Firm."[115]

She begins the article, "This is the 100th anniversary of the founding of the firm of McKim, Mead and White, a name which is to architecture what J.P. Morgan is to banking and Dom Perignon is to champagne." Just as the wealthy consorted with Morgan and drank Dom Perignon, so too it was the done thing to employ the most prestigious firm of architects in New York City if not in the whole of the United States. Social standing and aura which comes with being wealthy necessitated the trappings including housing, interior design and artifacts chosen by the firm or by Stanford White.

WHITE'S CHARACTER AND RELATIONSHIP WITH CLIENTS ABOUT WHOM LITTLE OR NO PRINTED MATERIAL EXISTS

Occasionally clients went bankrupt, which created a new role for the architect, that of compassion and understanding, and in the case of White, the virtue of generosity. One such unfortunate client was James Lawrence Breese for whom White designed "The Orchard" in Southampton, Long Island, and made alterations to "The Blind" at Havre de Grace, Maryland, both completed just prior to Breese's letter of December 4, 1904, to Charles McKim:

> "As you probably know, I have lost practically all my money and it will take a long while to settle up my accounts. I intended to have a sale of all my things with Stanford, but I thought it a bad time. . . . I want to say that whatever you decide is right and fair I will abide by it."[116]

The economy was in a drastic state of affairs and antiques were not selling well at that time. Even so, Breese was fortunate in selling an Italian fifteenth century ceiling and sent a check towards his account in January 1908. The firm waited six months before replying on July 22, 1908:

> "In view of the condition of your affairs. . . we do not wish to press for a full payment of the bill, but if you feel inclined to send us $1,000 in addition to the $3,000 you have already sent, we will be very glad to send you our receipt in full for all claims."[117]

Breese had been honest and forthright and the firm responded in like manner.

White had financial problems at various times. His painter friend Alexander Harrison wrote from Paris on July 20 (the year of the letter is omitted):

> "A chap from your side tells me that you have been having bad luck again and losing a pile. . . ."[118]

White continually played the market. Harry B. Hollins, for whom White designed a house at 14 West Fifty-sixth Street wrote on March 2, 1899:

> "We beg to inform you that we have allotted you a participation of $100,000 in the subscription to the Preferred and Common stock of the Havana Commercial Company. . . ."[119]

for whom White designed the "finest store in the world,"[120] in the St. James Building for the Havana Tobacco Company. The

marble interior, rugs, tapestries, palms, tropical plants and a pictorial Cuban landscape mural by Willard Metcalfe cost a total of $100,000.

Charles Baldwin devoted a chapter in his biography to "White as seen by Janet Scudder," illustrating among other things White's generosity to promising young artists. Two other examples will suffice to forward the point. Kenyon Cox wrote on April 16, 1892, ". . . I appreciate your kindness in letting the $100 go over on the new commission," a little nude, ". . . to fill the condition of your order" (May 19, 1893).[121] Charles Courtney Curran's "Nymph Bathing," also called "Enchanting Shore," was purchased by White, and the reply stated "The payment you mention of $500. . . is very satisfactory to me. You have helped me through a mighty difficult place."[122]

White wined and dined his friends sumptuously--as illustrated by a receipt from George E. Greene and Sons, caterers, when he paid $347.65 for a dinner at which forty-one guests had been invited. His April Fool's Dinner, 1896, was widely publicized and discussed when it was perpetrated. After the completion of Madison Square Garden, White took a suite of rooms in the tower where he invited a wide selection of his friends to a dinner prepared by Louis Sherry. No refreshments of any kind were provided, however, at which point Mr. Sherry himself offered to dine them at Fifth Avenue and Thirty-sixth Street. Arriving there, the guests saw only bare tables and notices announcing that each and everyone was an "April Fool." At that point White appeared and said

that there was, in fact, a feast to be had in Sherry's kitchen. Few were inclined to be tricked a third time and were ready to lynch White. Nevertheless the trip to the basement kitchen proved nourishing for the starved friends who then returned to the Madison Square Garden tower for a dance. On another occasion, Thomas Hastings, an architectural assistant and later a successful architect of the firm Carrere and Hastings, wrote a thank-you: "You were mighty good to take one in with such a bully crowd and such stunning girls--It was a grand spree. . . ." But then everything was a spree, bully, wonderful, gorgeous to White--so too were beautiful women, including Sarah Bernhardt, whom White showed New York on one of her many trips to Gotham City.[123] For recreation he enjoyed the Broadway season, the opera and the performing arts, but out-of-doors he had only one mania, that of salmon fishing, preferably in the Canadian wilderness. He was a member of the New York Yacht Club, Racquet and Tennis, Riders, in addition to Century, Metropolitan, Union, Players, Grolier, City and University Clubs, but it was the Ristigouche Salmon Club to which he pledged sole and undivided allegiance, paying his $200 initiation fee on September 15, 1887. The clubs and associations acted as an introduction to prospective clients, and the reverse process was equally applicable.

STANFORD WHITE AS COLLECTOR

Stanford White was an avid collector of beautiful objects and made numerous trips to Europe, usually only a few days or weeks

behind Mrs. Jack Gardner of Boston, buying not only for himself, but for the interiors of houses which he was designing for clients. Antique objects complemented the historic styles of architecture which he used.

He was often accused of pillaging Europe of its art treasures for wealthy barons insensitive to the art of the cultures which were being looted. The American Architect and Building News of 1906, quoting the New York Evening Post considered that

> "His own aesthetic standards were exquisite; but insensibly, as he sold his taste to a wealthy but half trained society, his taste condescended to their ignorance and vanity. The time that he should have given to creative design, he spent in despoiling French and Italian country-houses of their furnishings, and he adorned many an American mansion with irrelevant plunder of this sort. The frittering away of great genius as illustrated by the apparently successful career of Stanford White."[124]

The article was written after his death when White could no longer rebut such attitudes, but his son Lawrence White forwarded a reply in The Sketches and Designs by Stanford White, suggesting that leading nations always plundered from those whose glory had passed.

The 1893 Chicago World Fair did much to re-establish classical architecture in America. The Greek Revival of almost a century

earlier was particularly American, but the Classical and Renaissance Revival of the 1890's created an intense love of beautiful objects of fifteenth century Florence, and of Italy, France and Britain in the succeeding centuries. The indirect influence, twice removed from Italy, and modified by the climatic and regional character of England, was transplanted to her seventeenth and eighteenth century American colonies.

White's greatest prize was a Velasquez head of an infanta, "in perfect condition, delicious in color," according to John Singer Sargent in whose care it was entrusted. "My abode is not proof against fire or burglars, and I must turn into a dragon and sit on this treasure" wrote Sargent on October 14, 1898.[125] Frederick MacMonnies saw it there only ten days later and wrote:

> "My dear Stanford,
>
> Was the Velasquez for you? You lucky dog.
>
> Disgusting swiper of fine things. . . ."[126]

When Augustus Saint-Gaudens saw it only a month earlier he wrote to White from Paris, "I have been to see the Velasquez . . . . I am not thunderstruck by it. . . but you know I am only a bloody sculptor and a painter might fall in a fit before it . . . ."[127] All were jovial and friendly but envious of such purchases.

Clients who purchased from White were invariably affluent as is typified by a letter from Harry Payne Whitney, who wrote a letter undated, except for the one word "Friday":

"My dear White,

I am sending you $30,000. . . you know what I want i.e. tapestries, pictures by Sir Joshua, Gainsborough or Van Dyke. . . Turner. . . and a good rug or so. Chinese rugs have always looked well in the drawing room.

"In the tapestries, go ahead without consulting us to the extent of $20,000. Then use the cable for anything more. . . ." [128]

Typical of White's purchases for Whitney was a portrait of Charles James Fox by Sir Joshua Reynolds for $1,500 and for W.C. Whitney, H.P. Whitney's father, a Raphael portrait on wood for $12,700. During 1905 White purchased $98,000 worth of goods in Europe for Payne Whitney, and when on other occasions dealers beat White to the prize he purchased directly from American and European dealers. White acted on behalf of Hamilton McKown Twombly of Madison, New Jersey, a son-in-law of W.H. Vanderbilt who managed the New York Central and Hudson Railroad after the death of Commodore Vanderbilt. In this case, White was purchasing Barberini tapestries at a price of $34,000 from Charles M. Ffolke of 2013 Massachusetts Avenue, Washington, D.C., including eight based upon Torquato Tasso's pastoral poem "Aminta," 1573, on Tasso's hapless love for Leonora d'Este. The tapestries were either from the Gobelins, 1650-1675, or were made in the "manufactory of tapestries established in the Palace of the Barberini in Rome by Cardinal François Barberini," as described

by Ffolke. Another five relating to the life of Apollo were purchased for an additional $26,000.[129]

White also purchased for his less affluent friends, such as the Cheneys, the silk manufacturers of South Manchester, Connecticut, with whom Bessie and Stanford spent weekends.[130] The correspondence began at least as early as February 22, 1888, when Anne wanted Millet's "Gleaners" in the Spencer collection but expected that it "Will probably go too high for us. . . ."[131] or September 29, 1893:

> "The price for your pictures I must confess is pretty steep for us and if Mrs. White wants them perhaps it is fortunate for our depleted purses. I dare say it will be wiser for us to wait awhile and see if these miserable people in Washington are going to send us to the wall with their free trade. . . . "[132]

Robert Cheney could also be friendly and sympathetic, as when Stanford White lost about one million dollars worth of antiques and paintings in a storehouse fire early in 1905:

> "Now,my dear boy, let me express my sympathy for your great loss, it will not in anyway replace the splendid things which have gone up in smoke, but perhaps be not unacceptable to you to know that your friends realize somewhat at least, what you must feel to see the collection of years wiped out in an hour to say nothing of the terrible

money loss."[133]

In the fire were two portraits attributed to Holbein, one of Henry VIII and another of Edward VI. Charles Baldwin in his biography of White quotes a letter from McKim to Mrs. White saying, "After two days of stoney misery, poor old Stan broke down completely at the breakfast table and sobbed like a child. Then he made up his mind to it and threw it, so that one would think he had forgotten all about it."[134]

At Harbor Hill the ornate entrance door opened onto a vestibule and double-height main hall (Fig.77) which were paneled throughout, including the columns, the pilasters, and the choir stalls, in oak from Europe. The hall housed antique armour and large, colourful, hanging banners. A salon and glass-enclosed piazza were to the left of the main hall, and to the right were kitchens, pantries, and a housekeeper's office. The remainder of the ground floor (Fig.76), not unlike those in many sixteenth-century English mansions, consisted of four corner spaces accommodating the dining room (Fig.78), the billiard room, the Italian "stone room" (Fig.79), and the magnificent staircase (Fig.80), which boasted elaborate balustrading, paneling, and tapestries. The stone room was carpeted with a fifteenth-century Ispahan rug and decorated with religious paintings by Botticelli, Verrocchio, Perugino, and Bellini. Raphael's Garden of Gethsemane, a companion piece to Mrs. Jack Gardner's Pieta, at Fenway Court, Boston, hung in this room. On the second floor were the main bedrooms. Katherine's suite included an anteroom, a sitting room, a study, a bedroom decorated in a cool

green, and a bathroom with a sunken tub carved from a single piece of marble. From the second-floor gallery along the front of the house, light flooded through a screen of Ionic columns into the main hall. The butler had a room on the second floor; the housekeeper's and servants' rooms, with ten additional guest bedrooms, were situated on the third floor.

The architect was intimately involved in the interior decoration that contributed to the realization of a unified effect. As the house neared completion, White made numerous trips to Europe to seek antiques for the house--fireplaces, paneling, staircases, ceilings, and furniture. On one journey that began February 21, 1903, in Florence, White looked specifically for objects suitable for the hall of armour. He traveled through Naples, Palermo, Malta, Marseilles, Cordova, Seville, Lisbon, Opporto, Burgos, Bordeaux, Paris, Turin, Vienna, Munich, Dresden, Berlin, Amsterdam, Paris, and London in that order.[135] His list of collected items specified marble, statues, paintings (including seven Boucher decorative panels), tapestries, and banners. Clarence then marked what he wanted from the list, occasionally crossing off items as "too expensive". At one point Charles Platt, a like-minded architect, informed White that a collection of armour belonging to the nephew of the cardinal of Toledo was to be sold privately for £80,000 ($400,000 at the current exchange rate) or at an auction at Christies' in London, and that Mackay might look into the possibility of purchasing it.

White's ever lengthening lists of suggested furnishings provoked

resistance even before the 1903 European expedition. Katherine's letter of May 23, /1901?/, betrayed a hint of the strain involved in finishing the multi-million-dollar project,

> "Don't suggest any statues or any additions as I don't want another thing and all I ask of you is to help me get everything done as I wish. You and I have certainly continued friends through these two years of building and I want to tell you I am perfectly satisfied with the result of your work and thank you for this personal interest you have shown."[136]

Clarence was even more direct on November 3, 1902.

> "In regard to the remaining moose heads which you strongly advise me to buy, and which I understood you made a hurried inspection, you seem to forget the main point, viz: the price."[137]

Again, Katherine seemed to voice Scully's admonition that an architectural project could "swallow" its owners: "What an appetite a new house has! Oh for $250,000 to spend here!"[138] On January 30, 1903, Clarence finally admitted, three weeks before White began one trip, "I have a horror of 'extras,' and the word 'extra' keeps ringing in my ears day and night; so I want to take all the precautions I can. I can see you laugh!"[139] And White must have laughed, for although the Mackay interests did not merge with International Telephone and Telegraph for another quarter century, Clarence Mackay was an exceedingly wealthy man. But there were limits even to the extravagance of the rich, as Mackay pointed out in a letter dated February 24,

1903. "I would not think of paying such an absurd price as 100,000 francs for any mantelpiece, unless I had the income of a Carnegie or a Rockefeller."[140]

Admittedly, antique dealers may have capitalized on the situation, especially when it became known that White was attempting to fill a whole mansion. Tiffany Studios replied to an inquiry on July 13, 1903, concerning a large 10-by-28 feet rug:

> "We know of a rug now being held in Russia, which is 27x42 feet. It belongs to the Mesched family, and is similar in character, and color to the $6,500 which you saw in our studio the other day. The one abroad, however, is finer in weave, and much heavier in texture, and is a very rare specimen of its kind; because of its extraordinary value as a piece of fine workmanship and beauty and its unusual size, the cost of this rug to Mr. Clarence Mackay, would probably be $12,000 or $15,000."[141]

Four months earlier, on March 18, 1903, A.A. Vantine and Company, importers of rugs, silks, and curios, sold Mackay two rugs for $13,000, one Kirman, 23 by 35 feet, and one Kurdistan, 19 by 35 feet.

But by October 27, 1904, Mackay had apparently taken a firm stand, for White was desperately trying to cut the cost of the library from $40,000 to $25,995. Yet Katherine was still not willing to abandon her demands:

> "Will you treat my library in the following two ways: First: Renaissance Plaster ceiling to look like old marble. Marble windows and door trims, marble mantel pieces. Walls covered with that red stuff from Baumgartens. The two best tapestries hung on the two panels where the book cases now are. Second: Louis XV: french walnut: unfinished. no gold. large French mantelpiece, tapestries framed in panels. Tapestry curtains to all windows. Please make me two colored drawings for these, very carefully and <u>think</u> about it, as I want the room fine when I do it."[142]

This then was the pattern the architect-client relationship assumed at Harbor Hill--a fashionable architect with irreproachable yet often expensive ideas; a determined, opinionated, and extravagant wife; and an increasingly parsimonious husband.

The Mackays had three children in their new home: Katherine, born 1900, Ellen, born 1903, and John William, named after his grandfather, born in 1907. By 1913, the marriage had encountered problems and Katherine sailed for Europe. From there she sued Clarence for $1 million for alienation of affection, but withdrew the suit and divorced Mackay in Paris on February 11, 1914. She subsequently married Dr. Joseph A. Blake, a surgeon, and worked with him in the International Red Cross until they returned to live at Irvington, New York. They later divorced, and Katherine became a Roman Catholic. She died of cancer and

pneumonia in New York in 1930. After the funeral, arranged and attended by Clarence at Saint Vincent Ferrer Church, she was buried in the Duer plot at Woodlawn. During this period, Harbor Hill came to be called "Heartbreak House," because of the divorce, because Ellen Mackay married Irving Berlin (her name was thereafter removed from the New York Social Register), and finally because of Clarence Mackay's financial failures.

On March 29, 1928, Mackay's interests merged with International Telephone and Telegraph, and the subsequent years of the depression devastated his fortune. His Postal Telegraph Company paid its last dividends in July 1935 and was acquired by Western Union. During 1933 he sold $350,000 worth of his art treasures to the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C.. Armour, paintings, including Mantegna's Adoration of the Shepherds, and sculpture were sold to the Metropolitan Museum of Art.[143]

Mackay was remarried on July 18, 1931, after Katherine's death, to the opera soprano Anna Case. He died November 12, 1938, leaving $50,000 in cash and $2 million in stocks and bonds to his wife and children. A large number of the furnishings and works of art which White had obtained for the house more than three decades before were sold during the next six years.

White purchased for numerous collectors throughout his life and occasionally sold to museums. The City of St. Louis Museum, for example, has a sixteenth century French Renaissance door which

they purchased from White in 1888.[144] Many other museums and private collections have examples from his collection. After his death four separate auctions were held, and at one 650 objects were auctioned off, including a mantel of the period of Henry II of France and an Italian Renaissance doorway with antique stone balusters and newels.[145]

As well as buying antiques for his clients, White created designs of jewellery, trophies, picture frames, book covers, sarcophagi, tombs, mausolea, furnishings, interiors for yachts, and the like. Lawrence Grant White's Sketches and Designs of Stanford White illustrates many examples of his father's design ability. Again it was not only the grand commission which brought out the best in White's work. "How can we thank you enough," wrote Anne Cheney on May 30, 1889, "for stopping in the midst of all you have to do to design a frame for our portraits."[146]

After his death, many of White's clients were present at the sale of "artistic furnishings and interior decorations" of his town residence at 121 East Twenty-first Street, New York. Among those reported in the New York Times were Mr. and Mrs. Robert Goelet, Harry and Mrs. Payne Whitney, and Mrs. W.K. Vanderbilt; architects included Cass Gilbert, Wilson Eyre, I.N. Phelps Stokes and George A. Platt, plus the interior designer Elsie de Wolfe and painter Grant LaFage. In death as in life, the works of art acquired through White's acumen, were in great demand.[147]

WHITE'S NON-ARCHITECTURAL DESIGNS

White's designs for magazine and book covers were simple, although with a slight Renaissance flavour. He designed by a process of elimination, refining his design until "little remained except a simple running border framing the title and some graceful and properly spaced lettering."[148]

Charles F. Chichester of the Century Company offered and paid $500 for a cover for the Century Dictionary, and on another occasion White designed the cover and title page for Clarence Winthrop Bowen's The Centennial Celebration of the Inauguration of George Washington, New York, 1889. William R. Stewart was the driving force behind the temporary and later the permanent Washington Arch, both by White. Prior to the publication of Bowen's book, Stewart wrote White for a photograph for inclusion in the book and received the following reply on May 14, 1889: "If you had not made a request in your letter for my photograph, I should have answered it at once, but the thought of sending out the grinning idiots, of murderers, which my photographs always represent, is a paralyzing one."[149]

The list of book covers and title pages designed by White is endless, but as a respected and competent artist he was usually included in the exhibition of book covers at the Grolier's Club, East Thirty-second Street. White was never a prude--far from it; he judged beauty in the human form as in any other object, but his clients were not always willing to acquiesce to

his tolerant attitudes. Henry W. Tiernan, as secretary to the Eugene Field Memorial Fund committee, delicately objected to an illustrated nude on a book of poems by Field. "We take great pleasure in sending herewith under separate cover one of the first copies of Field Flowers. . . " wrote Tiernan. "At the last moment before publication the Committee brought up the question as to the phase of the nude in your design. The majority of the members, taking into consideration the fact that the book will largely fall into the hands of children, thought it advisable to eliminate the feature to which I refer. . . ."[150] Replies to such correspondence no longer exist. Would White have cared, would he have objected to such interference by Victorian prudes, or simply chuckled at their narrow-mindedness?

Sporting cups were another facet of White's design ability and the Robert Goelet Schooner Cup, executed by Tiffany's and described in the New York Yachting magazine, August 8, 1896, again shows his diverse capability for choosing complementary motifs. The silver bowl had gold inlay and "was modelled with figures of mermaids each with one arm clasping a dolphin and the other outstretched to the rim of the bowl to serve as handles. Feet of turtles rested on another silver base, the whole being 16 3/4 high." Yachting cups led to yachts, including the interiors of "Namouna" for James Gordon Bennett, 1885, and another of 1892 for Royal Phelps Carroll. Sending his check for $292 to White in June, 1893, Carroll wrote "It is very good of you to have undertaken this work in such a sporting way. . . .

The cabin is exceedingly pretty and it will be a great pleasure to me to have it as an evidence of your taste."[151] Mahogany, white pine and white wood provided a backdrop for ornamental papier mache, touched with gold, chintz wall coverings and Tynecastle tapestry paneling, with brass and nickel plated hardware.

Gravestones and mausolea by White were "usually inspired from the Greek. Three of the most successful are of Pink Knoxville marble, delicately carved with the most exquisite and appropriate ornament. . . ."[152] One of the illustrations consisted of a broken column with wreath and sword for the Clinch family, and another was a monument for Richard Grant White. In some cases sculpture formed part of the design, as in the Fish Monument at Garrison, New York, where Saint-Gaudens contributed two figures to a plinth and cross by White. Earlier collaboration by sculptor and architect include the Romanesque tomb commissioned by Edwin D. Morgan, Governor of New York, 1858-1862, at least three years prior to his death in 1883. The tomb was constructed from grey granite with stubby columns and Byzantine-looking capitals. It had a bronze door and a window designed by Tiffany and was to have had sculptures by Saint-Gaudens. These were, however, destroyed by fire just prior to their completion at the site in Cedar Cemetery, Hartford, Connecticut. After the fire Mrs. Morgan decided that she did not want the sculptures re-made. They consisted of four angels around a column in addition to eight other figures, four in high relief and four in low relief. White thought the angels splendid but advised against making them too picturesque; McKim said "By Golly, what a fellow Saint-Gaudens

is! And even /George Fletcher/ Babb said 'H-m-m,' which is lots for him."[153]

Generally speaking, however, the monuments were far simpler and sometimes deliberately so by request of the client. Consuelo Vanderbilt, who became Dutchess of Marlborough, wrote an undated letter from 45 Portman Square, London, expressing to

> "Dear Mr. White
>
> Don't forget what the monument I want to put up at Woodlawn. I want something very simple."[154]

It was erected at Woodlawn Cenetery, New York, in 1906.

The earliest of the twenty or so funerary monuments of any significance by White was the Henry Russell Mausoleum at Woodlawn, N.Y., of 1894 (Fig.12), a design which Robert Adam, or perhaps rather James Stuart and Nicholas Revett who began publishing the Antiquities of Athens in 1762, would have been proud to have designed, after exploring the glories of Grecian Athens. Octagonal in form plus projections, as the Tower of the Winds, Athens, or possibly the Church of S. Maria Scalaceli by Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola illustrated in Paul Letarouilly's Edifices de Rome Moderne, (Paris, 1840, plate 339), it has a delicacy of detailing, a characteristic to be found in all of White's work. Doric columns on the portico are refined although of the masculine order of architecture, and so too are the acroteria, pedimental and cornice decorations and the trophy at the apex of the roof from the Choragic Monument of Lysicrates, Athens, 334 B.C.. The Charles J. Osborn Mausoleum, Woodlawn, 1909 (Fig.13),

was designed with the same delicacy but was cylindrical in form with Corinthian pilasters and swags between, but the H. McKown Twombly Mausoleum, Woodlawn, 1896 (Fig.14), was a tall monument and did not house sarcophagi, acting rather as a marker. Four Ionic columns at each corner on a high base supported a Doric entablature and a pedimental ended roof. A mixing of classical details consisting of Ionic portico attached, in a Schinkelesque Romantic-Classical manner, to a cubic mass having a Doric frieze below the eaves was the design for the Ogden and Robert Goelet Mausoleum, Woodlawn, 1899 (Fig.15). Only the Louis Sherry design at Woodlawn of 1905 (Fig.16) had detailing solely of the Doric order, although triglyphs were utilized as corner motifs rather than as a continuous rhythm to the frieze; a pair of Doric columns supported a porch entablature attached to a cubic solid mass with small shallow dome.

Collaboration between Stanford White and a host of sculptors including Augustus Saint-Gaudens, Daniel Chester French, Frederick MacMonnies, Philip Martiny, Herbert Adams, Andrew O'Connor, Adolph Weinman and several others of lesser calibre resulted in harmonious compositions. A city, square, park or building without sculpture, and interiors without paintings were almost unthinkable to architects such as McKim, Mead and White. Sculpture was so integral a part of the design concept that separate chapters must be devoted to this aspect of White's co-operation with other artists.

WHITE'S "STYLE"

Marcus Vitruvius Pollio defined architecture as "utilitas, firmitas, venustas" in his De Architectura written in 15 B.C. and first published in Rome in 1486.[155] Vitruvius was the architect's bible of the Renaissance period. If Vitruvius described a method of combining the elements of architecture or the geometric arrangement for the planning of a city, then it was justifiable. Well into the sixteenth century and long after the initial impact of Vitruvius, Andrea Palladio could say "Vitruvius my master, Rome my mistress, Architecture my life."[156]

Vitruvius's dictum was transcribed into English as "commoditie, firmenes and delight" by Sir Henry Wotton in his The Elements of Architecture, Collected from the Best Authors, in 1624.[157] Sir Christopher Wren reiterated the definition as "beauty, firmness and convenience"[158] and Sir William Chambers in the eighteenth century added health. This does not mean that Vitruvius ignored health, far from it; he paid considerable attention to it, recommending that towns should be situated in accordance with health, comfort and regard for climatic conditions. Various other terms were added to the three Vitruvian adjectives even for cottages which prior to the eighteenth century would not have been considered architecture. In 1806, John Wood, The Younger, of Bath suggested in his Plans for Cottages or Habitations of the Labourer, that the cottage should be "dry and healthy, warm, cheerful, comfortable, convenient,"[159] spacious and economic.

During the eighteenth century, the acceptance of Vitruvius for all architectural justification was questioned by the Enlightenment, although, even today, the basic architectural definition is still accepted. Vitruvius's attitudes on proportion, especially as they related to the facades of buildings, were reconsidered. Does one ever see a Golden Section as a ratio of approximately 8:5, or does one in actual fact see a Golden Section as a trapezoid shape in perspective? Prior to the mid-eighteenth century, when all concepts were questioned in the name of reason, architecture as a term was synonymous with the word Classicism. After about 1750, with the emergence of the Gothick and the Greek Revival, began a movement which developed into the battle of the styles of the nineteenth century and insodoing gave the twentieth century designer the freedom of personal expression.

Stanford White had this freedom, but the continuing Classical tradition from the period of the eighteenth century and based ultimately upon Vitruvius prevailed in most of his work and that of many of his contemporaries. White designed in the Medieval style of the Romanesque but never in the Gothic of its numerous varieties even though McKim built a couple of archaeologically correct Gothic churches. Rome led to the Roman-ish or Romanesque of the Medieval period in Italy and most of the early Renaissance buildings in Florence were an extension of the Romanesque. Thus a continuous Classical tradition can be traced from Rome and Italy, through the Renaissance movement in Europe but especially Italy, France and England, to Colonial American architecture and on to the Colonial and other revivals of the late nineteenth

century. In growing out of the Arts and Crafts tradition in the broadest American sense and of the Romanesque revival, White was exclusively a Classicist. He was eclectic but only insofar as he culled the wide variety of Classical elements and forms available to him.

White had been educated by private tutors to the age of nineteen when he entered the office of Richardson, the second American architect to have trained at the Ecole des Beaux Arts, Paris. Seven years with Richardson instilled into White the methodology of the Ecole, and when he joined McKim and Mead in 1879, he came into contact in McKim with another architect steeped in the Beaux Arts tradition. All of this had a profound effect upon White. Delight was always uppermost in his mind as it is in the creative process of most architects with the notable exception in the twentieth century of the Bauhaus generally and Gropius, Mies van der Rohe and their followers in particular. Delight is strongly present in their work but more closely allied to firmness than is usually accepted.[160]

The teaching of the Ecole des Beaux Arts is not stylistic but rather an attitude, approach or philosophy of design. Architecture was taught at the Ecole in Paris from 1819 to 1968 but as early as 1671 the Academie Royale d'Architecture was founded. Its rationalist approach was based upon reason and the Academy "sought to evolve universal principles of architecture. . . to make architecture perfect"[161] based upon Roman antiquity and the Italian Renaissance. Students were urged to reason logically

and learn from Classical prototypes. Jacques-Francois Blondel was appointed to a chair at the Academy in 1762 and to him Classicism was not limited to Antiquity and the Italian Renaissance. It included seventeenth century France as well, and Palladio who earlier was considered to have taken "liberties with profiles,"[162] was taught, together with Vitruvius, Scamozzi and Vignola. In looking back to Pierre Lescot, Philibert de l'Orme, François Mansart and their followers, the Ecole was being nationalistic in its preferences and in its approaches to architectural design. McKim, Mead and White were that way too but from an American standpoint. Likewise, the Ecole was decidedly against the Gothic, especially for new churches, "because Gothic churches were not the proper expression of Christianity, Gothic architecture never having penetrated Rome."[163]

Julien Guadet in 1901 set down the seven basic methods of design of the Ecole in his Eléments et Théorie d'Architecture. An answer to any architectural problem had to express the character of the building with relation to site, location and climate. A true structure must not only support the edifice, it must also appear to support it honestly. The plan must be simple, and the building well lighted and ventilated. Lastly, beauty must complement the utility of the plan. Victor Laloux at about the same period complemented this last rule by stating: "You can put forty good facades on a good plan, but without a good plan, you cannot have a good facade."[164] All of these attitudes can be found in the work produced by the firm of McKim, Mead and White.

BEAUX ARTS METHODOLOGY

The seven tenets of Ecole des Beaux Arts teaching were, firstly that the purpose of the building be expressed in its design. In this respect White expressed his residential architecture as part of the streetscape and even in his grandiose residences at Newport he was only emulating domestic architecture on the scale of a trianon for a Louis XIV mistress. Sometimes his more palatial residences such as the Villard Houses could have been confused with clubhouses such as the Metropolitan which was so much like the Villard Houses in scale and organization. Most clubhouses were palatial and based upon the houses of the princes of the Italian Renaissance. In New York City they were the home away from home for its members who also transacted business on the premises as the Renaissance merchants. Churches of Classical design were obviously religious buildings just as Classically introverted buildings of low profile tended to be banks, whereas extroverted boxes were usually stores with views in to their interiors from the street. If there were offices or hotel accommodations above,this was usually expressed as a separate entity of the design, as at the Russell and Erwin Building, New Britain, Connecticut, 1885 (Fig.59).

Secondly, the impact of site, location and climate upon the design was possibly another reason why White chose the Classical idiom indigenous to the Mediterranean. Most of the firm's buildings were situated in New York City or in close vicinity where climatic conditions range from temperatures below zero

Fahrenheit in February to the nineties with ninety percent humidity during July and August. Rome is on approximately the same latitude and although snow and low temperatures are rare in Italy and the humidity is almost non-existent, temperatures do reach high levels in summer. In an era, therefore, prior to air-conditioning, high ceilinged buildings similar to those in northern Italy were necessary for heat loss and ventilation.

Site and location are possibly more related to an open site than a restricted, limited urban site. Even so, the organization of parts was always of importance to White. His design, for example, of the Bowery Savings Bank (Figs.126-30) on an L-shaped site maximized the narrow entrance from a major thoroughfare and a grandiose entrance leading into a dominant space from a minor street.

Thirdly, all designs must be simple in construction which in White's case they were. Major vertical lines in buildings were always expressed as solid materials, stone or brick, whereas panels below windows which were the inter-spaces between the structure could be expressed as infill decoration. Montgomery Schuyler expressed delight in the clear articulation of structure and infill panels on the Knickerbocker Trust Company Building, New York (Fig.108), and the Cullum Memorial, West Point (Figs.109, 110).

Fourthly, every architectural statement must be true. Whether or not they realised it, the Ecole was demanding the Keatsian

dictum that

Beauty is Truth, Truth Beauty

and since this attitude is closely linked with the third and fifth tenets, it will be well to discuss the idea that the structure must not only be effective, it must also appear to be so. Whether White was decorating his structure in the Sullivan[165] sense as at the Interborough Rapid Transit Company Power House (Fig.111) where the decorative elements covered the steel framing, or whether the loadbearing masonry actually supported the horizontal members, White expressed his structure clearly. At the Cullum Memorial, West Point (Figs.109,110) and the Knickerbocker Trust Company (Fig.108), both templar buildings, the posts or columns supported the lintols or cornices. In highrise structures the columnar expression, again advocated by Louis Sullivan as base, shaft and cap as forwarded in the Wainwright Building, St. Louis, was also emulated by White notably in the Tiffany Building, New York (Fig.65) or even in the upward extension of the Knickerbocker Trust Company Building when it was extended to a total of twenty-two storeys, 1906-1912.

Sixthly, the plan has to be ample and simple with plenty of light and ventilation. These qualities are usually achieved by symmetrical planning with a series of axes and cross axes. There is thus a clear organization and relationship of parts, one to another. Bellevue Hospital, the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Pennsylvania Station, all in New York, or the Rhode Island State House, all by McKim, demanded this type of planning. White, who

developed from the Arts and Crafts tradition of Richardson, used a slightly more romantic approach to the planning of his designs. So many of his commissions, large warehouse type buildings for machinery, or departmental stores for the display of goods, did not need axes and cross axes. When, however, they did, White was more than ready and able to design in this idiom as seen at the Garden City Hotel, L.I., where wings are clearly related to circulation patterns. The University of Virginia's Cabell, Cocke and Rouss Halls have the same discipline and so too does the Astor casino "Ferncliffe," at Rhinebeck, N.Y.. The H-shaped plan of the New York Life Insurance Company Building, Kansas City, was designed to provide maximum daylight and ventilation and to ensure that it reached all 375 offices in the building. At Virginia the Faculty Report to the Rector and Board of Visitors specifically demanded that "the architect be instructed to give special attention to the problems of heating, lighting and ventilation, which in the old building [Jefferson's Rotunda] were inadequately solved."[166]

Seventh, that

> "Compositions proceed by necessary sacrifices; a design must be good first of all, but it must also be beautiful. One must compose then with a view both to the utility and beauty of the building. And, as an element of beauty, one tries to obtain character by variety."[167]

This then is the delight, one of the three Vitruvian adjectives describing architecture, and the wide variety of the Classical

styles were tapped by White to the utmost for this purpose. By far the best example exemplifying this principle is to be found in White's Bowery Savings Bank, Bowery and Grand Street, New York, 1893-95 (Figs.126-30. See pp.252-53). One aspect of delight in Beaux Arts design was the amalgamation of the arts as at McKim's Boston Public Library, where painters and sculptors complemented the work of the architect. White was very conscious of the enhancing effect of incorporating sculpture and of employing sculptors at an early stage of the design process so that there would be a marriage of the arts. Augustus Saint-Gaudens, Frederick MacMonnies and many others contributed to the process (See Chapters 6 and 7).

PARALLELS BETWEEN THE ECOLE DES BEAUX ARTS AND STANFORD WHITE

First of all a case should be made for the use of historic styles by the firm, Classical in nature and American in spirit because the American heritage was the basis of a great deal of the firm's work. When, for example, a competition was held in the late 1880's for the First Unitarian Parish Church of Cambridge, Massachusetts, McKim, Mead and White contributed a classical design, arguing in a statement that classical architecture had been the predominant style of architecture in church design since the sixteenth century.[168] Puritanism (in the colonies) was the basic religious observance and attitudes of New England. The Unitarian Church in Cambridge, they contended, was not only of this religious tradition, but also, by association, of the architectural traditions of nearby Harvard College and also of Colonial church

architecture. Peter Harrison's Kings Chapel, Boston, 1749-54, and even Christ Church, Philadelphia, 1727-54, as linear offshoots of Wren's London churches, through James Gibbs, were the heritage of America, a point which McKim emphasized in his R.I.B.A. Gold Medal acceptance speech in London. In addition, classicism was more practical and beautiful than the variety of styles of the nineteenth century which interrupted a whole tradition. They considered that Gothic was by association Anglican or Roman Catholic, and that the logical style for the Cambridge Unitarians must be Classical.[169]

Sometimes clients demanded Classical models, notably after 1893 when the Chicago Fair had a profound effect upon architects and laymen alike. For example, the Rector and Board of Visitors at the University of Virginia endorsed a Faculty Report that any new buildings on the campus should follow Classical lines. They wanted "a man not of local repute only but of broad and national consideration," and that is why they chose White.[170]

Even more emphatic were the members of the Building Committee of the Madison Square Presbyterian Church, New York, who seem to have been ashamed of their brownstone Gothic structure with spire, erected in 1854, at Twenty-fourth Street and Madison Square. The Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, which had built a skyscraper next to the church in 1893, wanted to expand and in 1896 offered a site across the street on the north-east corner and $325,000. White justified the Building Committee's desire in a rare descriptive statement:

> "It is, to a certain extent, a protest against the prevalent idea amongst laymen that a building, to be church-like, must be built in Mediaeval style. The style of architecture known as Gothic has nothing to do with the simple forms of early Christian religion, or with that of the Reformation, or with the type of architecture which prevailed in our own country when it had its birth as a nation. All these, which belong to the Protestant religion and to us, have no affiliations whatsoever with Gothic, but with the classic style. The Gothic, or Mediaeval form of architecture belongs absolutely and only to the Roman Catholic Church, and was developed under Monastic influence and traditions obtained from the Ninth to the Fifteenth Centuries."[171]

In their essay of 1906 on McKim, Mead and White, Desmond and Croly presented further arguments for Classicism, stating that Americans more than any other people are children of the inimitability and universality of the Renaissance compared to the unique and special qualities of the Gothic, related as it is to feudalism and militant Catholicism. "The Renaissance was not a period of intensive thought or logical construction, and of religious intellectual and moral economy," they wrote, and thus seem to have known even less of the Renaissance age than of the Medieval period. "It was a period," they continued, "of fertile suggestion of curious experiment in which buoyancy of a new

life was strangely mingled with the attempted revival of the thoughts and usages of an old world."[172]

That McKim, Mead and White wanted to return to the heritage of their own country, just as J.-F. Blondel at the Ecole glorified the work of French seventeenth century architects, is evident from their desire to search out Colonial examples on their "celebrated trip" of 1877.

COLONIAL AND FEDERAL STYLE INFLUENCES AND THE "CELEBRATED TRIP" OF 1877

The firm of McKim, Mead and Bigelow was established in 1877, and during that year the three partners together with White made their "celebrated trip" from Newport to Marblehead, Salem, Newburyport and Portsmouth.[173] The point of their pilgrimage was to observe, sketch and produce measured drawings of Colonial architecture for future study purposes. The trip beginning at Newport would have been by train, since coastal steamers at this time had to circumnavigate Cape Cod. (The Cape Cod Canal from Buzzards Bay to Sagamore and beyond was not built until 1909 to 1914.) They would have travelled on the Boston and Providence Railroad as far as Boston, changing at Myricks and again at either Attleboro or Middleboro according to their route. Thence, the Boston and Maine Railroad would have taken them to Salem, with a side trip to Marblehead, Newburyport, Portsmouth and Kittery.[174] What actually interested them is now impossible to establish but generally speaking, any seventeenth century--but

of far greater consequence, any eighteenth century--American architecture was important to their search.

The variety of historic architectural periods in Newport range from the symmetrical, double-pile, gambrel roof, clapboard Wanton-Lyman-Hazard House of 1675, through the religious, secular and domestic contribution of Richard Munday, to the sophisticated Palladianism of Peter Harrison.[175] Salem could boast the Jonathan Corwin, John Turner and John Ward houses of the seventeenth century, the Crowninshield house of the early eighteenth, and a host of fine late eighteenth and early nineteenth century structures by Samuel McIntire.[176] His Pingree House of 1804 (Fig.23), a refined red brick facade capped by modillion cornice and balustrade, has stone bands dividing the three floors, and except for the emphasized keystone motif in the lintols, is starkly simple but for the rounded porch with freely adapted Corinthian pilasters and elongated columns. It is this type of inspired design which was to influence later buildings by White. McIntire's Hamilton Hall (Fig.24) of 1806 on Chestnut Street has similar characteristics, except that the porch is rectangular in plan and the columns are Roman Doric. On the sides of the hall at second storey level are attenuated Palladian windows within arched recesses, the arched window recess being a favorite element in White's "Colonial Revival" designs. White's Colony Club (Fig.25) at 120 Madison Avenue of 1906 had a continuous colonnade of slender Corinthian columns along its length, not so dissimilar to the three-bay porch of Salem's Customhouse (Fig.26) dated from 1819, but inspired by McIntire's earlier work.

The Essex Institute in Salem, an historical museum, contains a wide variety of items including furniture, period rooms and examples of the decorative arts. In his biography of Richardson, Hitchcock noted that White could have seen "broken glass patterns in stucco" at the Institute and at Ben Perley Poore's at Indian Hills near Newburyport.[177] White adapted this seventeenth century mosaicwork, notably in gables of houses, using not only broken glass but sea shells, beads, stones and any elements which would provide appropriate textures for his whimsical art trouvé decorative paneling. The four architects visited the residence of Major Benjamin Perley Poore, a journalist and author, who had an extensive collection of Colonial furniture in a rambling house of varying periods and styles of architecture. His ancestor Samuel Poore had emigrated from England and settled at Indian Hill farm in 1650. It was a hodge-podge of stylistic characterists--of Palladian, pointed arches and Tudorbethan leaded windows, octagonal towers, castellated and with conical roofs. Building materials were stone, wood, brick and stucco as in rural vernacular structures.[178]

Marblehead and Newburyport had none of the sophistication of Bulfinch in Boston or McIntire in Salem. The King Hooper mansion, 1728-45, the Jeremiah Lee, 1768, and the Hooper-Parker House, 1775, all in Marblehead, were provincial in comparison, but the total unity of the town and of the domestic structures around the square must have been a pleasant sight to the four travellers. One wonders what their comments could have been concerning

Abbot Hall, a huge Ruskinian Gothic structure of 1876, red emblazoned against the more subtle colouring of eighteenth century domestic architecture and dwarfed in the shadows of this Venetian Gothic pile. Would their attitude have paralleled that of Joseph Wells, an assistant of McKim, Mead and Bigelow, who did "not care a damn what Ruskin. . . /said/ on any subject?"[179] Had the Ruskin "shackles" been thrown off by the partners in their search for Colonial classicism, even though Richardson, the master of two of them, was a Romantic, a Medieval revivalist and an architect whose sources lay in the Gothic Revival, and who derived his early inspiration from the polychromatics of the High Victorian Gothic?

Unlike Marblehead, where the houses along the winding streets cluster around the harbour, Newburyport's High Street is well away from the mouth of the Merrimack, but along its length are dozens of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century houses, probably by local carpenters under the belated influence of McIntire. Their proportions are crude and the houses can, at best, be described as provincial. The Caleb Cushing house, 1808, at 98 High Street, is the least rural of a group which includes the Tracy house, 1771, Bradbury-Spaulding, 1788-91, and the Pettingill-Fowler, 1793.

Portsmouth, New Hampshire, at one time had fifty-five Georgian mansions in addition to numerous primitive seventeenth century saltboxes such as the Richard Jackson house of about 1664. All may have been observed and noted by the four architects, but

again the earliest structures to have an affinity to McKim or White's antiquarian revivalistic tendencies are of the Federal period such as the Governor John Langdon house (Fig.27) of 1784; the later Portsmouth Athenaeum, 1803, by Bradbury Johnson; and the Portsmouth Academy, 1809 (the Portsmouth Public Library since 1896), attributed to Charles Bulfinch. All have the simple delicacy and refinement reflected in White's work.[180]

One can only guess what other structures they observed. The Post Office and Custom House at the corner of State and Pleasant Streets, Portsmouth (Fig.28), designed in 1855 and built from 1857-60 by Ammi Burnham Young, must have been seen. They could not have traversed the town along State Street without passing by it. Whether they consciously noted the government structure is of course another question, but they more than likely did. It should be remembered that William Rutherford Mead's account of the origin of the firm contained a statement concerning the factors leading him into the architectural profession: "I had been influenced somewhat towards the study of architecture by my first view, before entering college, of the classic capitol building of Vermont at Montpelier. . . ."[181] The Vermont Statehouse was designed by Ammi Young in 1833, with a Greek Doric portico based upon the Theseion, Athens, and a Pantheon dome. The building had burned in 1857 and was rebuilt to the original design (except that the Pantheon dome was replaced by a fenestrated drum and dome of Baroque vertical emphasis) by Thomas Selloway and Joseph R. Richards.[182] Mead would have been thirteen years of age or younger if he had known the original

Statehouse by Young, but even the slight modifications after 1857 left the building essentially intact. Ammi Young's name and his contribution to governmental architecture was well known in the late 1870's; he had died only three years prior to the "celebrated trip." Mead would undoubtedly have recognized the Portsmouth Post Office as from Young's hand, even had he not consciously remembered the fact, and would have pointed it out to his colleagues, had they not been stimulated and interested by their own observations. All of Young's work of the 1850's was Italianate and most of the influence came from the work of the British architect Sir Charles Barry, notably his Reform Club, London, of 1838-40. The Italian precedents were to be found in the work of sixteenth century Italian architects, notably Michelangelo, Antonio da Sangallo, Giacomo da Vignola and Giacomo della Porta. Their Farnese Palace, Rome, 1517-86, was the basic source of Young's Portsmouth Post Office, a smaller box with pavilions on each of the four sides, three storeys high with crowning cornice.[183] In detail, the ground storey has channel jointed ashlar, segmental headed doors and windows with channel jointed voussoirs. These were all favorite details by White later in practice. Cornices divide the upper storeys which are of smooth ashlar; the second storey pedimented windows and the flat cornice headed windows of the third storey sit on the cornice bands. Except for the channeled joints of the lower storey, this elevational treatment is identical to the Farnese Palace, and with modifications, to the Chancelleria Palace, Rome (by an unknown architect, but in feeling similar to the work of Bramante). The latter inspired the Villard

Mansion (Fig.29) of 1882-1883--one of the first of McKim, Mead and White's Renaissance-inspired buildings--supposedly by Joseph Wells working under White as the partner in charge. Detailing of the Villard Mansion could have been by Wells and the inspiration could have come from the Chancelleria Palace. White was, however, familiar with Italianate architecture and the American precedent for the Villard Mansion was possibly Ammi Young's Portsmouth Post Office. White undoubtedly knew the five volume set of designs by Young, executed in collaboration with Captain Hamilton Bowman, engineer in charge of the Treasury Department, entitled Plans of Public Buildings in Course of Construction under the Direction of the Secretary of the Treasury, 1855-56. But why should White have used a thirdhand source when the original sixteenth century designs were so readily available in copybooks?

If this supposition is correct, then White would have gone to Letarouilly or some similar source for drawings of the Chancelleria Palace in Rome as the basis for his Villard Houses, New York, 1882-85. It was the first phase of the American Italianate style of the 1840's and '50's which White admired in designing the American Safe Deposit Company Building, 1882, and the Villard Houses, all in New York, as the first two buildings of the Second American Italianate or Renaissance Revival of the 1880's.

Once into Europe, however, any phase of Classical architecture in Italy, France or England could be utilized and was. Travel throughout Europe during his life, visiting the famous monuments

and searching out unknown vernacular examples was a prime necessity for White. Source books were also important, notably for structures which for some reason or other had been razed, altered or allowed to decay. As Joan Draper has stated concerning "The Ecole des Beaux-Arts and the Architectural Profession in the United States," "Good libraries were essential to academic, Ecole-trained architects since their designs were based on a thorough study of precedents."[184] After the day's work at the office of McKim, Mead and White, the three partners retired to their library to "fish" for ideas in their well-stocked collection of source books. Stanford White particularly admired beauty whether in pugilism, Sarah Bernhardt, paintings, interiors, furniture, artifacts and thus any historic architectural style which appealed to him was justifiable. He did not have a single-minded philosophy to which all design considerations had to be subjected. So long as it was one variety or another of the Classical tradition, preferably with an American bias, he was happy to design in that idiom.

THE INFLUENCE OF EUROPEAN CLASSICISM

Let us return to "Colonial" architecture, or rather, Federal style architecture of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, which was the purpose of the young architect's journey. Samuel McIntire and Charles Bulfinch had built structures of this period, details of which White was to use in later practice, but White also went to the fountainhead of the Federal style as propagated in mid and late Georgian Britain by Robert

Adam. Adam was one of many in a pan-European movement devoted to the study of architecture beyond the city of Rome itself, to the Roman provinces and to the glories of Athens as the forerunner of Rome.

Robert Adam logically influenced British colonial and later American Federal architecture by his classical tastes, but J.J. Winkelmann, a German, was equally interested in antiquity and so too was the Frenchman J.D. Leroy--notably after the discovery of Herculaneum in 1735, Pompeii in 1748 and Paestum, the Greek settlement in Italy, partially excavated when Charles III of Bourbon was constructing the Lower Tyrrhenian highway through Naples. Thomas Major published The Ruins of Paestum in 1768; Robert Wood wrote The Ruins of Palmyra in 1753 and extolled the Syrian acropolis in The Ruins of Balbec in 1757; James Stuart and Nicholas Revett visited the hub of Greece, 1751-55 and published the first volume of The Antiquities of Athens in 1762, and Robert Adam's Ruins of the Palace of the Emporer Diocletian at Spalatro was published in 1764. A glance at Plate XVIII of Robert Adam's . . . Spalatro, "View of the Porta Ferrea" (Fig.30), illustrates a small oblong pavilion with Corinthian half and three-quarter columns attached to the walls supporting a pyramidal shaped roof of Byzantine tiles. In spirit the pavilion is very similar to those designed at the entrances of Prospect Park, Brooklyn (Fig.31), by Stanford White, 1890--his first attempt at structures of antique classical as opposed to Renaissance or Colonial derivation, albeit in the Roman Doric and Ionic orders.

White was exceedingly proficient at adapting the delicacy of Adamesque compositions in line and form, but he also captured spatial qualities. The Italianate Metropolitan Club, New York (Fig.32), has a huge hall measuring 52x55 feet on plan, a space 45 feet high in marble, gilt, sweeping double stair, a wrought metal balustrade leading up to balconies of Ionic columns and pilasters. Such a space could not have been inspired by the domestic architecture of the Federal period, but is in keeping with the grandiose proportions of late eighteenth century English mansions. On a more intimate scale, the small circular conservatory off the dining room of Henry Poor's residence at 1 Lexington Avenue creates a magnificent lighting effect comparable to the domed, circular "closet" at the north end of the Long Hall at Syon House, Middlesex, remodelled by Adam, 1762-69. The Poor residence also has a two storey stair leading to a colonnaded upper hall similar to the Villard Mansion, paralleling the more elaborate stair-hall in the house for Lord Gower, Whitehall, London (known as Carrington House) by Adam's contemporary Sir William Chambers, 1765-74.

The orangerie at Kenwood House, Hampstead, London, 1783, or its French equivalent, the Grand Trianon, Versailles, by J.H. Mansart, 1687, were precedents for the casino for John Jacob Astor at Rhinebeck, New York, 1902-04 (Fig.33). Although a building of similar scale, the Mrs. Herman Oelrichs house "Rosecliff," Newport, 1879-1902 (Fig.34) could have been inspired by Ange-Jacques Gabriel, whose Petit Trianon at Versailles, 1762-68, was rearranged by White into an extensive villa of H-

shaped plan.

American contemporaries of Adam, Chambers and the younger Robert Mylne, transported the latest trends across the Atlantic to the New World. Charles Bulfinch and Samuel McIntire went on the Grand Tour, returned to the United States and incorporated ideas of Adam and his British contemporaries into their own work, sometimes with the aid of copybooks. From 1773 Robert and James Adam published their Works in Architecture and in 1759 Sir William Chambers had presented his Treatise on Civil Architecture. Thus Bulfinch borrowed the facade of Adam's Royal Society of Arts, London, 1772-74, for his Joseph Coolidge House, Boston, 1791-92; and adapted details from William Pain's Practical House Carpenter (2nd ed., 1788) and James and William Pain's British Palladio, 1786, and the American Asher Benjamin's Country Builder's Assistant, 1796, for his Elias Hasket Derby Mansion, Salem, of about 1800. The Adam motif of a doorway surmounted by a fanlight and side lights was utilized in the Derby Mansion as elsewhere. Undoubtedly the wide use of such elements led Asher Benjamin to incorporate comparable detailing in his The American Builder's Assistant, 1806, the first book in the United States to do so.

McIntire's work, already touched upon, also had a profound effect upon White. Stables at the Jerathmeel Pierce house of 1782, composed around a large central entrance arch, much like the stables at Gore Place, Waltham, Massachusetts, by Le Grand, are not dissimilar to the stables for Mrs. Elliott F. Shepard at

Scarborough, New York.

White was not, however, limited to New England examples of Federal architecture. He had gone with his wife Bessie to Florida, describing the lovely old town of St. Augustine in an undated letter to his mother.[185] He returned via Charleston, South Carolina, where he must have seen the Joseph Manigault house, 1790-97. Its portico was modeled upon that of Robert Adam's David Garrick villa at Hampton-on-Thames, 1775. More important was the fact that White saw the Nathanial Russell house, Charleston, S.C., c.1803, representing Adamesque elegance personified both internally and externally. The piano nobile windows set in recessed arches are the one dominant feature of almost all of White's Colonial Revival red brick structures. Vincent Scully also looked beyond New England for the source material of McKim and White's design for the H.A.C. Taylor house, Newport. "It allowed for the first time an intentionally Palladian-colonial system to take over the plan, which closely resembles such 18th century plans with traverse halls as that of the Chase House, Annapolis, 1769-71."[186] Geometric order, simplified facade detailing, recessed arches, tall narrow windows with thin astragals, lintols with dominant keystones, modillion cornices, balustrade, and applied decorative porch or entrance feature incorporating attenuated orders of architecture were characteristics of Adam, his American contemporaries and Stanford White.

If America's architectural heritage was Classical and national

aspirations led McKim, Mead and White, and a host of other architects to use variants of the Classical styles, then the Second Renaissance Revival and the Neo-Classical Revival were the epitome of this attitude. At the beginning of his section on "The Neo-Classical Revival" in American Architecture Since 1780: a Guide to the Styles, Marcus Whiffen admirably sums up this attitude:

> "The architects of what in the first quarter of our century was often referred to as the American Renaissance and is now less politely called the Academic Reaction--that is, the movement that began in the mid-1880's with the Second Renaissance Revival--were cosmopolitans who believed that thanks to them American architecture was at last taking its place with the architecture of the older countries of the Western world. Ironically, in the Neo-Classical Revival they actually produced something that in the light of history is seen to be peculiarly American."[187]

WHITE'S RELATIONSHIP WITH CONTRACTORS AND LANDSCAPE ARCHITECTS

Collaboration was a way of life to White, not only with fellow artists, decorators or office assistants but with landscape architects, structural engineers, acoustical experts and construction contractors. Across Copley Square from the Boston Public Library stands Richardson's Trinity Church, constructed by Norcross Brothers with a bid of $355,000, later reduced to

$286,000, compared to two other bids of $615,000 and $640,000.[188] Norcross Brothers were competent and reliable and even illustrated two other buildings by Richardson on their headed notepaper, the Chamber of Commerce, Cincinnati, 1885, and the Allegheny County Courthouse, Pittsburgh, 1884.

McKim and White had worked with representatives of Norcross Brothers on Trinity Church and other Richardson buildings. They logically chose the same firm of contractors when they nominated a contractor or when the contract was paid on the basis of cost, plus percentage profit, usually ten percent. A typical notation made by White for his colleagues when off on a salmon fishing trip to Canada, concerning the Garfield Monument base (sculpture by Saint-Gaudens) was: "Victor /von Musits?/ made drawings for this. If anything should come up on it before my return, let Victor make the working drawings and Norcross have the contract for the work complete, inclusive of foundation, in Pink Milford Granite, fine cut, for a sum not exceeding $4,300."[189] Norcross Brothers were stone suppliers for some of White's buildings such as the Metropolitan Club, New York, but were general contractors on a variety of buildings in a wide geographic area. They were, for example, contractors for the Detroit State Savings Bank, the Kansas City offices of the New York Life Insurance Company, the Century Club, houses for Mrs. E.F. Shepard, Scarborough, New York, and Hamilton McKown Twombly, Madison, New Jersey--all by White, and the White House renovation, Washington, D.C.--by McKim, a half-million-dollar contract

completed within ninety days due to close co-operation with Norcross Brothers.

John Pierpont Morgan's Library on Thirty-sixth Street was another of their contracts, wherein Guastavino Brothers supplied not only the tile structure for the domes and vaults but all floor construction to make a completely fireproof building. George Collins has written at great length on the work of Rafael Guastavino, notably in his article entitled "Transfer of Thin Masonry Vaulting from Spain to America."[190] The development of the Catalan tiling system consisted of laying warped tiles between layers of mortar, thereby producing a thin but exceedingly strong vault or dome. This technique of vault and dome construction, now totally unknown in the United States, was a common and popular means of construction at the turn of the century. White used it on the dome of the library reconstruction at Thomas Jefferson's campus at Charlottesville, Virginia, after it was destroyed by fire in 1895, and also on the Pantheon-inspired dome for the library of the New York University campus in the Bronx, completed in 1897. But the system was equally applicable for very shallow segmental vaults between beams as fireproof floor construction. The West Point Officers' Mess had $18,000 worth of Catalan vaulting incorporated into its construction, and so did the Harry Payne Whitney House, 972 Fifth Avenue, where domes, stairs, corridor ceilings and floors were of tile and where decorative delft blue tiles were used in the kitchen and laundry. Clarence Mackay's estate at Roslyn, Long Island, had Guastavino tiling throughout.

White purchased antiques extensively for the Mackays, but also wished to ensure that the main house and outbuildings were well sited on the square mile of land which had been purchased. In this particular instance he employed Guy Lowell as landscape architect, even though Lowell, like White, is better known as a designer of structures than of gardens.[191] Frederick Law Olmsted had coined the term landscape-architect in 1854 and the profession had become distinguished by the inclusion of men of other fields who turned to the landscape as a design element. Lowell was a graduate of Harvard, M.I.T., the Ecole des Beaux Arts, and practiced in Boston. His most notable works include the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, the President's House at Harvard, buildings for Phillips Academy at Andover, Massachusetts and Brown University. Many of his commissions demanded a sympathetic relationship of architecture and its immediate surroundings. He taught at M.I.T. and wrote on American Gardens, 1902 and Italian Villas and Farmhouses, 1920. Clarence Mackay was a most dominating and domineering man, and like his wife Katherine had to be treated firmly but tactfully. White explained the matter of formality against Picturesqueness to Mackay on April 18, 1900, in a letter which began:

> "Although it /the cost/ may be a calamity to you, you must acknowledge that, in the end, you will get a pretty fine chateau on the hill, and, with the exception of Biltmore, I do not think there will be an estate equal to it in the country.
>
> "Now you cannot come up to this great house by a

> road shaped like an eel, and past your kitchen. You have got to have a fine and dignified approach, and will be perfectly possible and practicable as far as grade and drive are concerned."[192]

Guy Lowell was brought in as consultant and provided a classical landscape around the house but retained the extensive natural wooded areas as a foil. The driveway was monumental, having two rows of European lindens fifteen feet apart on either side of the approach road to the house. White continued the landscape tradition formulated for his own estate at St. James, when laying out the grounds around the mansion which he had designed for Mrs. E.F. Shepard at Scarborough. He was also commissioned to lay out the grounds of the Saratoga Club, Saratoga, New York (renamed the Casino when Richard Canfield purchased it in 1894) which he did in the tradition of sixteenth century Italy by adding imported accessories.

Associations with Olmsted must have been strong, notably at Prospect Park, but smaller commissions called for their combined attention. "Mr. Twombly has decided so many times to build his new house, and then returned to the scheme of altering the old one," wrote Olmsted, "that if it is not putting you to too much trouble, we would like to receive a copy of your plans for the additions and alterations to the old house, so that we can prepare our plans for the approaches and do the planting this spring. . . . " Preparedness and out-thinking old Twombly was all part of the game.[193]

MATERIALS

John Pierpont Morgan's art collecting was given an impetus in 1890 at the death of his father when a second fortune was added to his own. As the collection grew, he wanted to share its glory with his fellow Americans, so he began buying up property within the same block, between Madison and Park Avenues and Thirty-sixth to Thirty-seventh Streets, where his own house was situated, for a permanent repository or library plus business accommodations, to be fireproof and well-constructed. Marble to McKim was a material of permanence, well wearing and strong. On a trip to Athens, he had tried unsuccessfully to insert a knife blade between the courses of marble at the Erechtheum. For an additional $50,000 McKim persuaded Morgan that a similar precise system of construction of doweled blocks with a thin sheet of lead 1/64" thick between horizontal blocks, could result in a building as precise as those designed by the Greeks. The library was constructed in this manner, 1903-1905, although the adjoining house for Morgan's daughter Louisa and son-in-law Herbert Satterlee, long since demolished, was perhaps justifiably, of limestone!

The use of marble in the Pierpont Morgan Library, a late work by McKim, does provide justification for such an expensive material which buildings of less permanence would not merit. Such a precise material provides the architect with the means of incorporating fine and clearly delineated details as a contrast in materials where marble is juxtaposed to a more common stone.

Marble also provides a material of permanence for a special type of building as the sacred Erechtheum on the Acropolis or for a major repository of rare manuscripts and art works such as those collected by Morgan.

As the firm of McKim, Mead and White became more prestigious and famous, they obviously understood their own emerging greatness within the evolution of architectural design and decidedly wanted to build for posterity to preserve for history examples of their own work. Their early work had an Arts and Crafts rusticity which was soon lost for the requirements of carefully executed more permanent materials.

Earlier than the Morgan Library, J.P. had commissioned the Metropolitan Club, 1891-94 (Fig.32) in white marble as a prestige building for selected wealthy friends. But on lesser structures where limestone or brick predominated, White liked to enrich certain areas such as the vestibule of the New York Life Insurance Company Building in Kansas City where Vermont and Tennessee marbles complemented mosaics. At the New York Life Insurance Company Building on Broadway, New York, the entrance sported two polished Milford Granite columns as accents.

White explained this attitude concerning the Pulitzer House on Seventy-second Street, New York, where he wanted Cippolino marble columns as a focal point within a limestone facade. He wrote Pulitzer that

"I really think it would greatly enhance the

> beauty of the house to have these. . . but at $8,000 each"

he knew that Pulitzer would not agree. White explained to Pulitzer on August 23, 1901,

> "It was because we had this feeling about the columns ourselves that we wished to have them in polished granite or marble. If they were single columns of the same stone as the building they would have a weak look, on account of the rustication of the basement. As it was decided they should be in stone, the only thing to do was to rusticate them. You can see the same treatment in the palaces in Venice, and it is very satisfactory. . . . "[194]

Vermont white marble was used for the Corinthian columns of the porticoes on the Bowery Savings Bank and all the columns of the templar Knickerbocker Trust Company Building, both in New York City.[195] Sometimes cost prohibited its use as at the Pulitzer house, but on other occasions White consciously restrained himself from using marble. At the University of Virginia restoration of the Rotunda, White kept everything simple and appropriate to the character of the building

> "and although it cannot but be regretted that it was not possible to use marble where wood and stucco, painted white, take its place, yet, as the use of marble was necessarily impossible, the mind, reverted to the period when the buildings were erected, forgives the homely substitute in

delight at the charming result."[196]

When it was impossible to use marble or even build the whole structure in stone, White resorted to a flat buff-coloured Roman brick with stone trim. The cost of carving was also prohibitively expensive in money and time and thus White resorted to cast terra-cotta for rich ornamentation. To provide some idea of the cost of stone carving only a few years earlier, it is worth noting that on Alfred Mullett's Post Office, Custom House and Court House at St. Louis, Missouri, 1873-84, "each four-ton window cap took two men six months to finish, and cost $1,700. The caps for pilasters took a skilled workman ten or twelve months to finish, and cost $1,500 each."[197]

Terra cotta had been revived in England during the 1850's and was widely used there by the practitioners of the Queen Anne Revival. The American born John Hubbard Sturgis of the firm of Sturgis and Brigham, who used the material on the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 1870-76, had trained at the Architecture Association, London, from 1855 and returned to Boston in 1858. Thereafter the material was used throughout the United States and particularly by White, reaching its zenith appropriately on the entertainment centre which White designed as the Madison Square Garden. Other building types which did not aim at a joie de vivre spirit were more refined, but door and window surrounds, entablatures, cornices, pilasters, capitals, decorative panels below windows, swags, shields and other such like decorative features readily adapted to the material. Buff and white were the only glazes

successfully produced by the Perth Amboy Brick Company even though experiments had been made to produce other colours as in Renaissance roundels and reliefs. White demanded experiments with yellow and green glazes for his Madison Square Presbyterian Church, but the colours ran together during firing, producing a golden brown. This colour together with green, yellow, blue and red were used to great effect on the Church and coloured terra-cotta remained a popular material of architects until the decline of the Art Deco style prior to the Second World War.

New building types such as office skyscrapers, entertainment centres and even high rise hotels adapted readily to this revived material, but when White was designing in a more historical Wrenaissance, Adam or Colonial style, red brick and stone trim was the order of the day as at the Mrs. E.F. Shepard residence, Scarborough, N.Y., Robert Patterson house, Chicago, or the Garden City Hotel, Long Island. Occasionally White was willfully playful in his use of brickwork where he used uncoursed headers as on the Colony Club, "the most immoral piece of brickwork to be found in the city of New York,"[198] and also at Trinity Church, Roslyn, L.I.. This structural brickwork also incorporated darker bricks in a diaper pattern in spandrels and panels.

CONCLUSION

White's designs were predominantly residential in nature: town houses in New York City but also in Baltimore, Chicago and

Washington, and rural cottages throughout New England and north of the Mason-Dixon Line. Additionally, he designed numerous club houses for New York City and educational buildings for Cornell Medical School, Goucher College, New York University, the University of Virginia, where he rebuilt Jefferson's library and incidentally worked on Monticello. He also built a high school for Naugatuck, Connecticut. Churches ranged from the "Colonial" church renovation at Hanover, New Hampshire, to the great Presbyterian Church on Madison Square, New York. His commercial buildings were mainly for New York but were also built in Omaha, Nebraska and Kansas City, Missouri.

Except for his collaboration with James Lord Brown, Bruce Price and Clarence Luce in the design of speculative row houses for David W. King at 138th and 139th Streets, between Seventh and Eighth Avenues, New York, White and the firm designed almost no low to middle income housing; White's design in this case was on the north side of 139th Street.[199] Earlier he had planned the village of Echota, near Niagara Falls, New York, consisting of sixty-seven residences of shingle style vernacularisms.[200] Few architects at the turn of the century were employed in this type of development in the United States. Edward Tuckerman Potter (1831-1904) completed research and made recommendations regarding tenement houses in New York City,[201] and I.N. Phelps Stokes (1867-1944) who was interested in low-cost, economically planned housing notably in areas of redevelopment[202] and so too was Ernest Flagg of Singer building fame. Commissions of this type do not seem to have been sought by McKim, Mead and White and those

interested in building such dwellings did not approach the firm. This does not mean that McKim, Mead and White were unconcerned with social issues since they were interested in urban order in at least half of their 785 commissions between 1879 and 1910. Leland Roth has carefully analysed the firm's contribution to urban development, notably in New York City where, during that time span, the city grew more than fourfold from 1,174,779 to 4,766,883, while at approximately the same period British cities as a whole grew by 2.88 and those in France by 1.89.[203]

In discussing White's life's work, the remainder of this study could categorize his structures by type and usage, but his buildings have greater affinity stylistically. There is, for example, greater relationship between the Tiffany Building and the Joseph Pulitzer house, both in the Venetian Renaissance style, than between the Tiffany and other commercial buildings; or between the Pulitzer house and other residential offerings. White utilized the antique Greek and Roman styles, the Romanesque, Italian Renaissance in all its geographic flavours and mannerisms, French early seventeenth and eighteenth century offshoots of Rome, and the Colonial styles twice removed from Italy via Britain. His Neo-Classical late eighteenth and early nineteenth century tendencies are equally as dominant as the late nineteenth century Chicago School commercial style or the Sullivanesque influence.

Chronology played no part in this stylistic development. He did not begin where Richardson left off in the Romanesque and develop

as did Brunelleschi in fifteenth century Florence from a Romanesque to a Renaissance style. The Colonial-inspired buildings are grouped in the late 1890's and the French influence at the turn of the century. But the Renaissance Revival began in the early 1880's at the American Safe Deposit Company Building for Elliott Shepard and the Villard Mansion, continuing until 1906 in the Gorham and Tiffany Buildings. The classical antique began in the pavilions at Prospect Park, Brooklyn, 1890, and continued until the completion of the Prison Ship Martyrs Monument, Fort Greene, Brooklyn, 1908. The Romanesque in a watered-down, modified form persisted until 1908 at Trinity Church, Roslyn, and the Sullivanesque persuasion of the 1890's is to be found in the Cable Building still standing on the northwest corner of Broadway and Houston Street, New York.

Richardson's office is where White received his early training and thus a discussion of his stylistic development must begin there.

FOOTNOTES

1. Op.cit., London, 1970.

2. Henry Van Brunt, "Richard Morris Hunt," American Institute of Architects Journal 8 (October 1947): 180-87.

3. Winston Weisman, "A New View of Skyscraper History," The Rise of an American Architecture, edited by Edgar Kaufmann Jr. New York, 1970.

4. Winston Weisman, "The Chicago School Issue," Prairie School Review 9 (1972): 15.

5. H.-R. Hitchcock, The Architecture of H.H. Richardson and His Times, Cambridge, Mass. 1960, pp.164 and 177.

6. Hugh Morrison, Louis Sullivan, Prophet of Modern Architecture, New York, 1935 (Reprint 1952).

7. Philip Johnson, "Is Sullivan the Father of Functionalism?" Art News 55 (December 1956): 44-46, 56-57.

8. H.-R. Hitchcock, "Sullivan and the Skyscraper," Royal Institute of British Architects' Journal 60 (July 1953): 253-61.

9. Winston Weisman, "Philadelphia Functionalism and Sullivan," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 20 (March 1961): 3-19.

10. Grant Manson, "Sullivan and Wright, An Uneasy Union of Celts," Architectural Review 118 (November 1955): 297-300.

11. H.-R. Hitchcock, Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, Harmondsworth, Mdx., Baltimore, Md. 1969, p.372.

12. Dimitri Tselos, "The Chicago Fair and the Myth of the 'Lost Cause,'" Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 26 (December 1967): 259-68.

13. Ibid., Fig.1.

14. Sigfried Giedion, Space, Time and Architecture, Cambridge, Mass., 1962, pp.306-7. There is closer affinity of the Exchange to the north side of Butterfield's Exeter Grammar School, 1885-87, not illustrated in the architectural press of the period. Berlage would have to have seen it in person for it to have influenced him.

15. A.W. Reinink, "American Influence on Late Nineteenth-Century Architecture in the Netherlands," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 29 (May 1970): 163-74.

16. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1977.

17. Montgomery Schuyler, "McKim, Mead and White," Schribner's Magazine 54 (December 1913): 791-94.

18. Henry W. Desmond and Herbert Croly, "The Work of Messrs. McKim, Mead and White," Architectural Record 20 (September 1906): 153-246, specifically p.177.

19. Scully, p.17.

20. "Presentation of the Royal Gold Medal by the Royal Institute of British Architects," American Institute of Architects Quarterly Bulletin 4 (July 1903): 83-88 (From the Builder, London, 27 June 1903); "The Royal Gold Medallist," American Architect and Building News 81 (18 July 1903): 20-22.

21. A Monograph of the Works of McKim, Mead and White, 1879-1915, New Edition, 4v. in one with an essay by Leland Roth, New York: Benjamin Blom, 1973, p.62, pl.16.

22. Baldwin, White, p.318.

23. Ibid., p.324.

24. NYHS M&P, Charles Dana Gibson house, file M-9.

25. Ibid.

26. Baldwin, White, p.261.

27. The H.A.C. Taylor House, 1885-86, for instance, was copied by the Boston and Roxbury architect Clarence S. Luce in the Conover house in Middletown, Connecticut, 1886-87. See Antoinette F. Downing and Vincent J. Scully Jr., The Architectural Heritage of Newport, Rhode Island, Cambridge, Mass., 1952, p.156. The Detroit firm of Mason and Rice repeated it at Lake Shore Road, Grosse Pointe, Michigan, as a summer residence for William C. McMillan, 1888. It still stands, completely changed, on University Place, Detroit. See W. Hawkins Ferry, The Buildings of Detroit: A History, Detroit, 1968, Fig.189. The Knickerbocker Trust Company Building, 1904, was copied for the U.S. National Bank, Portland, Oregon, by A.E. Doyle. There were several copies of the Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, including one at Charleston, West Virginia, where even the parish house at the side mimicked the Twenty-fourth Street facade in New York City. The NYHS M&P owns a scrapbook compiled by Lawrence Grant White entitled "The Architectural Work of Stanford White Compiled by His Son Lawrence Grant White, 1922."

28. For a complete listing of employees of McKim, Mead and White, see Moore, McKim, pp.327-37. On a more provincial level, A.B. Harlow, who joined McKim, Mead and White, and Frank E. Alden, a one-time assistant of H.H. Richardson, joined with A.W. Longfellow to form the Longfellow, Harlow and Alden partnership of Pittsburgh and there won the competition in 1891 for the Carnegie Institute and Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh. Completed in 1907, it is an elaborate structure, sumptuously painted and decorated and with heroic sculptures of Shakespeare, Bach, Galileo and Michelangelo by John Massey Rhind. See James D. Van Trump, An American Palace of Culture: The Carnegie Institute and Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, 1970.

29. All information from Moore's biography. See also Alfred Hoyt Grainger, Charles Follen McKim: A Study of His Life and Work, Boston and New York, 1913; Frederick Parsell Hill, Charles F. McKim, the Man, Francestown, N.H., 1950.

30. Scully, The Shingle Style, Chapter 8, "McKim, Mead and White Originality, Order and Academic Reaction, 1880-87."

31. Collaboration of architect, sculptors and painters at the library was a foregone conclusion to McKim. Louis Saint-Gaudens provided proud lions for the main stair where Puvis de Chavannes decorated the walls. Daniel Chester French executed the three entrance doors, and painters including John Singer Sargent and Edwin Austin Abbey painted friezes, panels and wall surfaces between architectural elements. Only Augustus Saint-Gaudens procrastinated for twenty years on a commission awarded in 1892 for two external groups, Labor, Science and Art, and Law, Religion and Power; Bela L. Pratt ultimately designed two figures for the front of the library.

32. It was proposed by McKim to the Trustees of the Boston Public Library on February 27, 1890, that a subscription should be raised for an architectural library to be known as "The Wells Library of Architecture," in memory of Joseph Wells, a young but outstanding designer of the firm, who died of acute pneumonia on February 2, 1890. John La Farge on June 10, 1893, made a similar suggestion in memory of America's greatest architect, H.H. Richardson, who died in 1886, but nothing seems to have come of either proposal.

33. In addition, the University of Illinois had a four-year course established in 1869 and Cornell a two- and later a four-year course, directed by Charles Babcock, a Ruskinian Gothicist and son-in-law of Richard Upjohn.

34. Mead began writing a memoir but did not get far. The whole is published in Moore's McKim, pp.40-42, this quotation from p.42.

35. New York Sketch Book 2, No.4 (April 1875), pl.16.

36. American Architect and Building News (28 July 1877), illustration No.83.

37. American Architect and Building News (30 June 1877), second illustration after p.206, and New York Sketch Book, 1, No.3 (March 1874), p.2, pl.12.

38. Moore, McKim, p.56.

39. McKim in connection with the Chicago World's Fair, the replanning of Washington or on business related to the American Academy in Rome, and White, on a fishing trip to the Ristigouche in Quebec, Canada, or hunting antiques for his clients.

40. Moore, McKim, p.65.

41. NYHS M&P, Villard Houses file M-7, letter from Artemis Holmes, 5 January 1885.

42. NYHS M&P, Pulitzer file M-15, letter from Mead to Pulitzer, 15 October 1900.

43. Lawrence Grant White, Sketches and Designs of Stanford White, New York, 1920, p.18.

44. Ibid., p.17.

45. Moore, McKim, pp.215-16. Several assistants of the firm have written their reminiscences. Goldwin Goldsmith published his article "I Remember McKim, Mead and White," American Institute of Architects Journal 13 (April 1950): 168-72, stating "where Mr. White dashed from one place to another about the building, Mr. Mead made a systematic and careful survey. . . . When the survey was over, it was my task to transcribe the notes I had taken. Mr. Mead made no criticism of the results. If I made any errors, and I must have, he corrected them himself. He was that way."

46. The Oxford Dictionary lists four meanings for the term, the first being an imaginary fourth player in the card game of whist; second, a figurehead, tool, man of straw, dolt or blockhead; third, a clothier's (or other type) model and fourthly, what Americans would call a "pacifier" or "baby's india-rubber teat," as a substitute or dummy for the real thing.

47. Mead had married Olga Kilenyi of Budapest on November 13, 1883. She died on June 20, 1928.

48. NYHS MSS, Richard Grant White Papers. Stanford's brother Richard became a mining engineer in New Mexico.

49. NYHS MSS, Richard Grant White Papers, letter to his wife, 10 September 1868.

50. NYHS MSS, Stanford White Papers.

51. The National Cyclopedia of American Biography, 1 (1898) p.197, for White, and 11 (1921), p.298, for Olmsted.

52. Albert Fein, Frederick Law Olmsted and the Environmental Tradition, New York, 1972, pp.27 and 43. See also Cecil R. Roseberry, Capitol Story, Albany, 1964, p.33. Olmsted and Richardson with Leopold Eidlitz were on an advisory board and were appointed joint architects of the New York State Capitol after Thomas W. Fuller was dismissed on 1st July, 1876.

53. Moore, McKim, p.39n. For the most up to date account of Richardson's Trinity Church, Boston, see Theodore E. Stebbins, Jr., "Richardson and Trinity Church: The Evolution of a Building," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 27 (December 1968): 281-98.

54. See Lawrence Wodehouse, "Henry Hobson Richardson's Home at Arrochar, Staten Island, N.Y.," The Victorian Society in America Bulletin 2 (September 1974): 6.

55. NYHS MSS, Stanford White Papers.

56. NYHS MSS, Richard Grant White Papers. George Fletcher Babb was then working for Russell Sturgis.

57. NYHS MSS, Richard Grant White Papers.

58. NYHS MSS, Stanford White Papers, filed under "White, Bessie."

59. Mrs. Lawrence Grant White, owns prints and photographs of the original house before alterations were made by Stanford White. The New York Historical Society's Map and Print Room has a bound volume of early photographs of the White residence at St. James, Long Island.

60. NYHS MSS, Stanford White Papers, undated Long Islander newspaper clipping. How Stanford must have laughed and gloated over this incident since he considered the statues to be objects of beauty and in no way intended to offend the narrow-minded bumptiousness of the local vicar and his flock.

61. Scully, "American Houses: Thomas Jefferson to Frank Lloyd Wright," in The Rise of an American Architecture, ed. Edgar Kaufmann, Jr., New York, 1970, p.193.

62. Henry Villard, Memoires of Henry Villard, Journalist and

Financier, 1835-1900, New York, 1904 (reprint 1969); Joseph H. Choate, Boyhood and Youth, New York, 1917.

63. W.J. Granberg, The World of John Pulitzer, London, 1965; George Juergens, John Pulitzer and the New York World, Princeton, 1966; W.A. Swanberg, Pulitzer, New York, 1967. John W. Tebbel, An American Dynasty (Patterson) New York, 1947 (reprint 1968). D.G. Buss, Henry Villard: A Study of Transatlantic Investments and Interests, 1870-1895, New York, 1978; J.B. Hedges, Henry Villard and the Railways of the Northwest, New York, 1967. A.S. Crockett, When James Gordon Bennett was Caliph of Baghdad, London and New York, 1926; D.C. Seitz, The James Gordon Bennett's Father and Son, Indianapolis, 1926. E.S. Martin, The Life of Joseph H. Choate, London, 1920; T.G. Strong, Joseph H. Choate, New Englander, New Yorker, Lawyer, Ambassador, New York, 1917. M.D. Hirsch, William C. Whitney, New York, 1948. Henry M. MacCracken, In Memoriam, New York, 1923. H.N. Casson, Cyrus Hall McCormick, His Life and Work, Chicago, 1909; W.T. Hutchinson, Cyrus H. McCormick, New York, 1968. F.L. Allen, The Great Pierpont Morgan, New York, 1949; M. Arendale, J.P. Morgan, Image of a Banker, New York, 1974; C. Canfield, The Incredible Pierpont Morgan, New York, 1974; H.L. Satterlee, J. Pierpont Morgan; An Intimate Portrait, New York, 1939; G. Wheeler, Pierpont Morgan and Friends, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1973; J.K. Winkler, Morgan the Magnificent, New York, 1930.

64. Swanberg, p.280.

65. Seitz, p.248.

66. Hirsch, p.580.

67. Leonard K. Eaton, "W.H. Winslow and the Winslow House," Prairie School Review 1 (Third Quarter 1964): 12-14; T.R. Cavanaugh and E.L. Payne, A Frank Lloyd Wright House: Bannerstone House, Springfield, Illinois, Springfield, 1970; Herbert Jacobs, Frank Lloyd Wright, America's Greatest Architect, New York, 1965; Herbert and Katherine Jacobs, Building with Frank Lloyd Wright: An Illustrated Memoir, San Francisco, 1978; T.B. Morton, "Wright's Pope-Leighey House," Prairie School Review 4 (Fourth Quarter 1967): 20-26.

68. Eaton, pp.161 and 163.

69. Ibid., p.viii.

70. Ibid., p.155.

71. JOSEPH HODGES CHOATE of seventeenth century Colonial stock, attended Harvard College and the Law School, belonged to many clubs and was a member of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. He became an independent senatorial candidate and was

later created ambassador to the Court of St. James by President William McKinley, 1899-1905. Earlier in 1887, White had designed a residence for him at Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

EDWIN DENISON MORGAN, grandson of Republican Governor of New York from 1859 to 1863, E.D. Morgan for whom White and Saint-Gaudens had designed a mausoleum, was of Colonial Welsh extraction. A graduate of Harvard, he joined his grandfather's mercantile, banking and brokerage firm. His wealth allowed him to spend as much time in sport during adult life as he had as a student. A member of all the major New York clubs, he was an oarsman, boxer and horseman and spent a considerable time at the house which White designed for him at Newport, R.I., 1888-91. See also The National Cyclopedia of American Biography, 44:350.

HAMILTON McKOWN TWOMBLY was again from an old established family whose father was a Boston shipping merchant. He was Republican in politics and an Episcopalian in religion, attended Harvard and married Florence, the granddaughter of Commodore Vanderbilt. His marriage led to the management of the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad and directorships of numerous other railroads, a member of an equally large number of New York clubs and a member and contributor to the Metropolitan Museum of Art. During 1892, 1894, 1897 and 1899 White added stables, lodge, entrance and other appurtenances to Twombly's 1,000 acre estate which he had purchased near Madison, N.J., and designed a mausoleum at Woodlawn in 1896. See also National Cyclopedia, 30:17.

JOHN GARRETT served in the Civil War after which he attended Princeton before succeeding his exceedingly successful father as president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, 1884-87. His father John Work Garrett had extended the system to Pittsburgh and Chicago, but John linked the railroad to Philadelphia and paralleled his railroad activities with a telegraph system, working with John W. Mackay and James Gordon Bennett on the Commercial Cable Company in laying a line across the Atlantic. He made Baltimore his home and White designed a town house for him, 1883-87, at 11 West Mount Vernon Place. Frederick Law Olmsted was brought to Baltimore by Garrett to lay out Mount Vernon Place and the adjacent Washington Place for which he purchased fountains copied from the Rond Point of the Champs Elysees, Paris. See also National Cyclopedia, 18:4.

JAMES JUNIUS GOODWIN's forebears arrived in Boston in 1632 on the "Lion." A cousin and partner of J. Pierpont Morgan, he was a member of Morgan's Metropolitan Club and had financial dealings in railroads, merchandising and insurance. His house was at 15-17 West Fifty-fourth Street, New York City. See also National Cyclopedia, 17:298.

HERMAN OELRICHS was born in Baltimore and entered the merchant shipping business of his German father. He obviously integrated himself and his wife into the estab-

lishment since he was a member of numerous New York clubs and White designed "Rosecliff," at Newport, R.I., for his wife, 1897-1902. See also National Cyclopedia, 3:207.
WILLIAM COLLINS WHITNEY, for whom Stanford White designed interiors at 871 Fifth Avenue, New York, 1897-1902, and his son Harry Payne Whitney, who built a house at 972 Fifth Avenue, 1902-09, should be considered together. William Collins studied at Yale and the Harvard Law School, was a dynamic corporate lawyer and a major force as Secretary to the Navy in Democratic President Grover Cleveland's first term of office, 1885-89, achieving legislation for making armour-plated war ships. He bred horses as did his son, but Harry Payne also raced them and was an outstanding polo player. Harry Payne attended Groton and Yale but transferred to Columbia for law. He married Gertrude, the daughter of Cornelius Vanderbilt, and invested so successfully in oil and mining that he was able to give the American Museum of Natural History three quarters of a million dollars for a new wing. See also National Cyclopedia, 21:93 for H.P. Whitney.
STUYVESANT FISH, a graduate of Columbia, began his career with the Illinois Central Railroad and became secretary and president from the early 1870's to his retirement in 1906 during its period of greatest growth. It was considered to be the best equipped railroad in the country. He was involved in numerous other railroad companies, banking and insurance, and was an ardent anti-prohibitionist. Fish's house was at 28 East Seventy-eighth Street, 1900.
BENJAMIN WALWORTH ARNOLD's house was situated in Albany at 456 State Street. Like his father, he was an industrialist specializing in lumbering but branched out into railroads and banking. He was of seventeenth century settler descent, was a Republican and a philanthropist. See also National Cyclopedia, 19:5.
JOHN JACOB ASTOR's Casino "Ferncliffe," at Rhinebeck, N.Y., 1902-04, was designed for the Harvard Law School graduate who managed the extensive areas of Astor real-estate in Manhattan. See also National Cyclopedia, 8:104.
CORNELIUS VANDERBILT acted as a ferryman for goods and passengers between Staten Island and Manhattan and slowly expanded into shipping, providing the title Commodore Vanderbilt. He utilized his shipping when the gold rush in California necessitated the linking of East and West coasts, but bought into railways after the Civil War and controlled the New York Central. The Commodore's son William Henry Vanderbilt, who doubled the family fortune to $200 million, employed Richard Morris Hunt for his chateau at 660 Fifth Avenue. William Henry had three sons, Cornelius, Frederick William and William Kissam. It was the wife of Cornelius who commissioned White to design the porch to St. Bartholomew's Church as a memorial to her husband who died in 1899 and it was William Kissam who chose White, after the death of Hunt, for 666 Fifth Avenue, really as an extension to the Hunt chateau, 1904-07.
See also National Cyclopedia, 30:15 for William Kissam

Vanderbilt.

72. Baldwin, White, p.271.

73. National Cyclopedia, 4:487 for John W. Mackay, and 31:24 for Clarence Mackay.

74. Much of the background information for this section has been abstracted from forty-six newspaper scrapbooks, dating from 1898 to 1924, which were deposited by John William Mackay, son of Clarence and Katherine Mackay, in the Bryant Library, Roslyn, L.I.. Newspaper clippings in these scrapbooks are dated and include the title of the newspapers. Additionally, the Bryant Library collection includes five looseleaf files and three boxes of newspaper clippings (undated and unidentified with regard to source), photographs, and other information. For aid in his research, the author is indebted to Marion Altman, Curator, Local History Collection, and Helen Glannon, Librarian, Adult Services, of the Bryant Library; Roy W. Moger, town historian and author of Roslyn Then and Now (Roslyn, 1963); and Dr. Roger Gerry, President of the Roslyn Preservation Corporation.

75. Frances Curran, ed., Trinity Church: One Hundred Years, 1869-1969, A Centennial History, Roslyn, 1969, p.14.

76. Katherine Mackay's letters are not carefully dated, but in this particular letter the year must be 1899. Wayne Andrews quotes a similar correspondence but places the first meeting between architect and client at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. See Wayne Andrews, Architecture, Ambition and Americans, New York, 1955, pp.194-96. All quotations of correspondence are from NYHS M&P, Mackay boxes 259-68.

77. NYHS M&P, Mackay box 265.

78. Ibid.

79. Herbert Croly, "The Lay-out of a Large Estate: 'Harbor Hill,' the Country-Seat of Mr. Clarence Mackay at Roslyn, L.I.," Architectural Record 16 (December 1904): 531-33.

80. Peter Ross, A History of Long Island, 3 vols., New York, 1902, 3:914.

81. Croly, p.554.

82. Ibid.

83. NYHS M&P, Trinity Church, Roslyn, L.I., box 577.

84. Ibid., letter dated December 5 (no year given).

85. Ibid., undated letter.

86. Ibid.

87. Ibid.

88. Ibid., letter dated April 30 (no year given but probably 1907).

89. Ibid., letter dated March 8, 1907.

90. Edward, Duke of Windsor, A King's Story, New York, 1951, p.200. Even prior to the First World War the marriage between Clarence and Katherine was having problems. She left for Europe in 1913 never to return to Harbor Hill. Katherine died in 1930 and Clarence in 1938.
In 1943 the United States government used the Harbor Hill estate for an American Air Corps radar station, and after the war the house remained empty until its demolition in 1947. Samuel J. Roth, a Manhattan builder, purchased the property in 1954, and country estates for the many replaced Harbor Hill's pleasures for the few. Only the gatehouse and water tower by White and the dairyman's cottage by Warren and Wetmore exist among the homes of the middle class.

91. Of this group of clients only three in addition to Henry Villard have biographers: H.N. Casson, Cyrus Hall McCormick, His Life and Work, Chicago, 1909; W.T. Hutchinson, Cyrus Hall McCormick, New York, 1968. T.L. Gross, Thomas Nelson Page, A Memoir of a Virginia Gentleman, New York, 1923. J.H. Appel, The Business Biography of John Wanamaker, Founder and Builder, New York, 1970; R.H. Conwell, The Romantic Rise of a Great American, London and New York, 1924; H.A. Gibbons, John Wanamaker, New York and London, 1926.
ISAAC BELL's father was New York City commissioner of charities and correction. Bell went to Harvard but didn't graduate. Instead he went into the cotton trade, made a fortune because of his own acumen, married the sister of James Gordon Bennett of the Herald in 1877, and was a Democrat. The Bells vacationed at Newport, R.I., and it was there that White designed them an unostentatious house for $25,000, 1882-83. See also National Cyclopedia, 7:536.
CHARLES LEWIS TIFFANY was the father of the more famous Louis Comfort Tiffany with whom White collaborated on several projects and introduced White to his father. Charles commissioned a huge mansion at the corner of Madison Avenue and Seventy-second Street, 1882-85, as three separate residences for himself, his daughter and son. His business began at 259 Broadway and slowly moved uptown to Times Square and to its present position on Fifth Avenue and Fifty-seventh Street. In later life he became a bank director. See also National Cyclopedia, 2:57.

EDWARD DEAN ADAMS, broker, banker and financier, who invested in railroads and collaborated in several projects with J.P. Morgan and the Vanderbilts. He was a director of an amazing number of companies including the Niagara Falls Cataract Construction Company for which White designed buildings. For WHITELAW REID, see National Cyclopedia, 22:1; and for HARRIS C. FAHNSTOCK, 30:553. For RUSH CHENEY, see National Cyclopedia, 19:73; JOHN FRANKLIN GOUCHER, National Cyclopedia, 24:174.
THOMAS NELSON PAGE, born in Virginia and descended from seventeenth century settlers, he attended Washington and Lee University prior to studying law at the University of Virginia. As an author, he wrote sentimental novels of the Old South, such as On Newfound River, 1891, Red Rock, 1898, and collections of short stories Ole Virginia, 1887, and The Burial of Guns, 1894. White designed him a house in Washington, D.C.. See also National Cyclopedia, 19:405.
ALFRED ATMORE POPE was a woolen manufacturer in a firm established by his father. He was interested in art and became a director of Harvard's Fogg Art Museum of Fine Arts. See also National Cyclopedia, 17:361.
JOHN WANAMAKER was likewise in the clothing business and established the famous Philadelphia store.
LEONARD COLTON HANNA was in wholesale groceries and with three other partners, branched out into and gained control of Tennessee Coal, Iron, and Railway Company. Later the company was purchased by Morgan's United States Steel Corporation. Pope's house was built in Farmington, Connecticut, 1898-1901, Wanamaker's in Philadelphia, 1902, and Hanna's at Cleveland, 1902-06. For HANNA, see National Cyclopedia, 34:110.

92. NYHS M&P, Villard House file, M-7, undated, unnamed newspaper article.

93. Ibid., letter from Artemis Holmes to Mead, 5 January 1885.

94. Fahnstock sold these two houses to Joseph P. Kennedy in 1944, who later sold them to Random House Publishing Company in 1946, which remained until 1968. The Archdiocese of New York of the Roman Catholic Church now inhabits the Villard Mansion and number 453, and the Roman Catholic Archbishop of New York lives at number 455. See "Villard Houses," The New Yorker, 11 May 1946, p.21. The complete group was designated a New York City landmark in 1968, but Random House (Publishers) moved out and with a 1971 value for the total property of about $5 million, all seemed lost. Ada Louise Huxtable, architectural critic of the New York Times, warned that realtors had their greedy eyes on the Villard houses as early as February 14, 1971. See "The Plot Thickens," New York Times, 14 February 1971 (Section 2) p.25. The latest development in the saga is that Harry Helmsley, a developer, and Richard Roth, Jr. of Emery Roth and Sons, architects, want to gut the interior of the houses and erect a fifty-two storey

hotel immediately behind; the fronts of the two center houses would be altered to create an entrance foyer to the hotel. Mrs. Huxtable wrote additional articles on January 5, 1975 (Section 2) p.29, and January 26, 1975 (Section 2) p.30. Henry S. Villard, eldest grandson of Henry Villard, for whom the Villard Mansion was built, wrote the New York Times on February 10, 1975, p.26, from Gstaad, Switzerland supporting Mrs. Huxtable. Vincent S. Villard, great-grandson, spoke in favour of preservation at the Landmarks Preservation Commission (New York Times, December 11, 1974, p.90) and Paul Goldberger reported on developments on December 9, 1974, p.54. Mrs. Huxtable's latest articles "The Needless Sacrifice of the Villard Houses," June 22, 1975, p.31, and "Another Chapter in the Urban Saga--How Three Causes Were Saved," September 21, 1975 (Section 2) p.31, were more positive in that the developer Harry Helmsley was cooperating to save interiors. The latest development in 1976 was that the New York City Planning Commission approved special zoning legislation to allow the building of a fifty-one storey hotel over the houses. "Significant interiors" will be retained.

95. NYHS M&P, Cheney box 594.

96. Ibid., box 593.

97. Ibid., box 34.

98. Ibid., box 594.

99. NYHS M&P, Pulitzer folder M-15.

100. W.A. Swanberg, Pulitzer, New York, 1967, p.280, letter from the Pulitzer papers at Columbia University.

101. Ibid.

102. NYHS M&P, Pulitzer folder M-15.

103. Ibid.

104. ELLIOTT FITCH SHEPARD, for example, was an aide-de-camp to Governor Edwin D. Morgan for whom White and Saint-Gaudens had designed a mausoleum at Hartford, Connecticut in 1881, and whose son of the same name commissioned a house at Newport, 1888-91. Shepard's father was president of the National Bank Note Company of New York City, and Elliott studied law at the University of the City of New York after which he worked for the New York Central and other railroads and corporations. He married the daughter of William K. Vanderbilt, was president of the American Sabbath Union, bought into several newspapers and established a number of banks including the American Safe Deposit Company for which White designed the headquarters on Forty-second Street at Fifth Avenue, 1882-84. Shepard died in

1893 and his residence was completed at Scarborough, N.Y., 1895, which is sometimes attributed to Mead and not White. See also National Cyclopedia, 1:159.

ROBERT AND OGDEN GOELET built a large real estate empire in Manhattan and had an extensive Shingle style house built at Newport, 1882-83. Three large stores with offices above were built as the Judge building, Fifth Avenue and Sixteenth Street, 1890, the Goelet building, Broadway and Twentieth Street, 1887, and the Cable building at Broadway and Houston, 1894. A mausoleum was also constructed at Woodlawn, 1899. See also National Cyclopedia, 35:417 for Robert.

JOHN PIERPONT MORGAN, although descendant of a seventeenth century Colonist studied at the University of Gottingen. By 1901 the banking house of J.P. Morgan and Company was worth $1,100 million with money invested in coal, railroads and steel; he established the United States Steel Corporation. He was president of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and his large contributions to educational and charitable organizations are legion. During 1887 he formed a company for the building of Madison Square Garden which included Herman Oelrichs, Stanford White, but notably Phineas Taylor Barnum, the son of a farmer and tavern keeper who organized "Barnum's Greatest Show on Earth," and who was a Connecticut legislator, mayor, builder and philanthropist of Bridgeport, Connecticut. Besides Morgan and Barnum the other major shareholder was Darius Ogden Mills, banker, speculator and philanthropist. Mills was a member of all the fashionable New York clubs and was a trustee of the Metropolitan Museum, while Barnum not only presented gifts to the Museum but was also its president at one time. They didn't actually commission McKim, Mead and White for Madison Square Garden, but rather organized a competition to be judged by Professor William R. Ware of Columbia. Nothing is known in detail of the competition, how many submitted or why McKim, Mead and White were chosen during the summer of 1887, but with McKim involved on the Boston Public Library and Mead with the New York Life Insurance Company building, Kansas City, White was put in charge of the design for the Garden. Was it a coincidence that he was also a shareholder?

Morgan's second commission with the firm which was designed by White was for the Metropolitan Club, 1891-94. Morgan and three of his associates had apparently been denied membership to other New York clubs and decided to establish an exclusive club for which they spent just over one million dollars. Morgan's most famed structure, his library, which housed his valuable collection of manuscripts and art treasures was designed in 1890 by McKim.

JOHN HOWARD WHITTMORE in early career entered the mercantile, brokerage and banking office of two of White's clients Elliott Shepard and Edwin Morgan, Jr.. Thereafter he settled in Naugatuck, Connecticut, where he worked for E.C. Tuttle and Company, manufacturers of farm tools. Whittmore improved the firm and formed the partnership of

Tuttle and Whittmore Company in 1870, retaining the position of president of the Company until 1900. Having made a fortune from his $1,000 investment in the Company, Whittmore built nine structures in the town, 1885-1906, all by McKim, Mead and White. His own house was built on Church Street in the northern part of the town, a Shingle building designed in 1885 but not completed until 1890. The Howard Whittmore Memorial Public Library was built on the town green in 1891 as a tribute to Whittmore's eldest son, and the Naugatuck National Bank and an elementary school were begun the following year and completed in 1893 and 1894 respectively. A second family house was built at nearby Middlebury in 1894 and improvements to the green at Naugatuck were undertaken in 1895. Whittmore donated a lot on the side of the green and donated to the funds for a new Congregational Church, 1901-03. All designs so far were by McKim or more generally by the firm, but the high school, up on a hill to the north of and overlooking the green, 1901-05, was by White. The last commission by the firm was for a house next to his own on Church Street for his second son Harris, 1901. See also National Cyclopedia, 15:70.

JAMES GORDON BENNETT was the son of the founder of the New York Herald, and became a journalist of some repute. A great sportsman, he owned several yachts which he raced across the Atlantic and with John W. Mackay, father of Clarence Mackay, a later client of White, established the Commercial Cable Company in 1883, laying a cable across the Atlantic, breaking the monopoly of such operations. His sister Jeanette married yet another client of White, the cotton merchant-politician Isaac Bell. Just as J.P. Morgan built his own clubhouse, so too Bennett built the Casino at Newport, R.I., 1879-81, because he had been disciplined and was considered unwelcome at the Newport Reading Room. The Casino was and is a tennis club with all facilities including a restaurant and stores along the street front to provide an income. The interior of Bennett's yacht "Namouna" and a house at 228 Ann Street, New York, were completed in 1885, and from 1891 to 1894, White designed and built the Herald Building, 1892-95.

CHARLES TRACY BARNEY was educated at Williams College and became the brother-in-law of William C. Whitney. His father was president of the United States Express Company and Charles Tracy became interested in the Knickerbocker Trust Company, New York, from its organization in 1884, and later became its president. In 1904 he commissioned White to design the Knickerbocker structure at 60 Broadway in 1904. Earlier White had designed houses for him at 10 East Fifty-fifth Street, 1883, and at 67 Park Avenue, 1895. Barney was chairman of the Building Committee of the University Club, New York, 1896-99, by McKim. Thereafter White was commissioned by Barney to decorate his yacht "Invincible" in 1900. White also worked with Barney on behalf of the Colony Club, 120 Madison Avenue, 1905-07, and also commissioned a monument at Woodlawn

Cemetery in 1905, two years prior to his death. In the business world he formed a syndicate with William C. Whitney and others and was a major force in New York real estate, establishing several realty companies including the New York Loan and Improvement Company. His art interests led him to purchase paintings by Whistler, Winslow Homer, Edwin A. Abbey and John La Farge. He was a member of numerous clubs and a life member of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. See also National Cyclopedia, 34:395.

OLIVER HAZARD PAYNE, descendant of a Plymouth Colony settler and son of a Cleveland lawyer, United States Senator, 1885-91, Henry B. Payne, studied at Yale and was commissioned in the Civil War. Thereafter he engaged in iron and oil refining and partnered with James Clark as Clark, Payne and Company which merged with Standard Oil in 1872. Payne moved to New York where he invested money in banking, railroads and industrial concerns including the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company which, it should be remembered, was purchased by another client L.C. Hanna, and the P. Lorillard Tobacco Company, which commissioned White to design the Havanna Tobacco Company Store. After a dangerous illness cured by Alfred L. Loomis, he gave all told $8 million to the Cornell University Medical College in New York City, designed by White, 1898-91. This was one of his numerous philanthropic benefactions. He was a Democrat and an Episcopalian.

105. NYHS M&P, Knickerbocker.

106. NYHS M&P, Colony Club box 590.

107. NYHS M&P, New York University folders M-10 and M-18 and boxes 129 and 533.

108. NYHS M&P, folder M-10.

109. Ibid., folder M-10, undated letter.

110. Ibid., 11 September 1896.

111. Ibid., 17 March 1899.

112. NYHS M&P, Detroit Savings Bank, folder M-18.

113. Ibid.

114. A Monograph of the Work of McKim, Mead and White, 1879-1915, edited by Leland Roth, New York, 1973, p.66.

115. Ada Louise Huxtable, "The Centenary of a Famous Firm," New York Times, December 2, 1979, Section 2, p.31.

116. NYHS M&P, Breese box 570.

117. Ibid.

118. NYHS MSS, Stanford White Papers.

119. Ibid.

120. A.C. David, "The Finest Store in the World," Architectural Record 17 (January 1905): 42-49.

121. NYHS MSS, Stanford White Papers.

122. Ibid.

123. Ibid.

124. American Architect and Building News 90 (7 July 1906): 6.

125. Baldwin, White, p.3, letter dated 14 October 1898.

126. NYHS M&P, Prospect Park box 176, MacMonnies letter.

127. NYHS M&P, papers relating to the Sherman Statue, folder M-8.

128. NYHS MSS, correspondence with H.P. Whitney. NYHS M&P, correspondence with H.P. Whitney, folder M-4 and box 507, and W.C. Whitney, folder M-9.

129. NYHS M&P, Twombly, folder M-15.

130. NYHS M&P, Cheney boxes 34, 593, 594 and 595. Letters passed between members of the two families providing intimate news items and family health reports. Typical of this correspondence is a note from Anne Cheney of July 29, 1904: "We are really worried about Bessie--did she get a salmon and letter from Robert?" (box 594). But more generally it was a letter from Anne to "Dear Stanford" making some trivial request, as on May 12, 1903: "Do not want to trouble you about Ethel's wedding present, thought you could advise us. Don't care whether it is silver or what; only want it different from the rest of the world and artistic. She is to marry Sam Thorne of New York." (box 593) The Cheneys were silk manufacturers having experimented in 1826 with a variety of mulberry tree introduced into the United States. In 1854 the Cheney Brothers Silk Manufacturing Company was incorporated and James, Charles and Rufus Cheney employed Richardson and later McKim, Mead and White on residential projects at South Manchester.

131. NYHS M&P, Cheney box 34.

132. Ibid.

133. Ibid., box 594, letter, 23 February 1905.

134. Baldwin, White, p.25.

135. Wayne Andrews lists additional trips by White to Barcelona, Madrid, and Brussels, but omits Naples, Turin, and Vienna. He states, "White descended on antique dealers. . . in his endless quest for ideal chairs and irreproachable tapestries." See Andrews, Architecture in New York, New York, 1969, p.107.

136. NYHS M&P, Mackay boxes 259-268, from which all quoted correspondence is taken. This quote, box 265.

137. Ibid.

138. Ibid.

139. Ibid.

140. Ibid.

141. Ibid., box 266.

142. Ibid., box 265.

143. The Bryant Library (Roslyn, L.I.) scrapbooks provide the following information on auctions and sales during the life of Clarence Mackay and after his death: (1) There was a private sale in 1933 to the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., of a total of fifteen paintings and sculptures for $350,000, including works by Verrocchio, Pollaiuolo, Donatello, and Mino de Fiesole and an altar from the Church of Saint Francis at Borgo San Sepolero, and to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Raphael's "The Agony in the Garden," Mantegna's "Adoration of the Shepherds," works by Botticelli, Pisanello, Baldovinette, Bellini, and some French Gothic tapestries. Other works were sold to the National Gallery, London, and to the Frick, Mellon, and Rockefeller collections. (2) In 1939 Jacques Seligmann & Co., 2 East Fifty-first Street, New York City, sold Verrocchio's "Madonna and Child," originally owned by Baron Hubert de Pourtales, Martinvast, Normandy, and Baron Arthur de Schickler, Paris, to Samuel H. Kress, who gave it to the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.. Kress also bought Duccio's "The Calling of Saint Peter and Saint Andrew." John Woodman Higgins, president of Worcester Pressed Cold Steel Co., purchased ten French and German suits of armour, dating from 1500 to 1700, for the Higgins Armory, Worcester, Massachusetts, including one rare piece of half jousting armour, ca. 1500, originally from the collection of Count Erbach, Nuremberg Zeufhaus. (Durer incorporated the helmet from this suit in his "Coat of Arms with Cock.") Other pieces sold included a French Louis XIII jousting set of 1620, German sixteenth-century sets from the Royal Armory, Dresden, of Prince Ernest Heinrich, duke of Saxony, of the

duke of Altenburg, Schloss Altenburg, Thuringia. (3) There was a sale on July 2, 1942, by Kende Galleries, 730 Fifth Avenue, at Gimbel Brothers, Thirty-third Street and Broadway, New York City. See Harold Lancour, American Art Auction Catalogues, 1785-1942, New York, 1944, p.317, no.7246. (4) In May 1943, Duveen Bros. purchased a Madonna sculpture by Lorenzo Ghiberti and a terra-cotta portrait of Lorenzo de Medici by Verrocchio. (5) On May 5, 1944, Gimbel Bros. sold between 7,000 and 8,000 items, valued in 1938, at the time of Mackay's death, at $30 million, from the collections of the dukes of Portland and Devonshire, Leopold de Rothschild, Lord Robert Cavendish, the Honorable Mrs. Fortescue, and the earl of Kinnall. Works included Sir Thomas Lawrence's "Portrait of Mrs. Siddons," Maximilain armour made in sixteenth-century Nuremberg, a French rapier of Claude Savigney, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century banners, and four Savonarola Italian chairs. (6) Mrs. James P. Silo, Vanderbilt Avenue and Forty-fifth Street, New York City, sold, on an unspecified date, furniture from Roslyn, L.I., including five Chippendale ladder-back chairs which sold for $220.

144. NYHS M&P, Stanford White personal file, letter to the firm from James B. Musick, museum assistant at the City Art Museum of St. Louis.

145. American Architect and Building News 92 (7 December 1907): 192. See Appendix Two.

146. NYHS M&P, Cheney box 34.

147. See Appendix Two.

148. Baldwin, White, pp.244-45 and two illustrations opposite p.244.

149. NYHS M&P, Washington Arch folder, OMF 205.

150. NYHS MSS, Field, Eugene, Monument Fund folder, letter, July 22, 1896.

151. NYHS M&P, Royal Phelps Carroll Yacht folder, M-16.

152. Lawrence Grant White, Sketches and Designs by Stanford White, pp.11-12, pl.38.

153. Homer Saint-Gaudens, The Reminiscences of Augustus Saint-Gaudens, New York, 1913, vol.1, p.224.

154. NYHS MSS, Vanderbilt file.

155. Vitruvius, The Ten Books on Architecture, New York, 1960, "The Departments of Architecture," p.17.

156. "Glory of Palladio," Time Magazine, January 13, 1958, pp. 74-77.

157. Henry Wotton, The Elements of Architecture, London, 1624, part 1, p.1.

158. Christopher Wren Jr., Parentalia, London, 1750, p.351, to be found in Wren's "Tract 1."

159. John Wood, Jr., Plans for Cottages, London, 1806, pp.4-5.

160. Robert Venturi in Learning from Las Vegas (Cambridge, Mass., 1972, Figs.46 and 47) has shown that Gropius considered that firmness and commodity, which is what architecture is all about, together equal delight. Venturi and the Post-Modernists generally are reverting back to the Vitruvian description that firmness, commodity and delight in equal proportion define what architecture is. This is one reason that there is a resurgence of interest in historic styles and included in this resurgence is the work of White.

161. Richard Chafee, "The Teaching of Architecture at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts," The Architecture of the Ecole des Beaux Arts, edited by Arthur Drexler, New York, 1977, p.62.

162. Ibid.

163. Ibid., p.100.

164. Ibid., p.96.

165. It could be argued that Sullivan doesn't always express structure clearly. At the Wainwright Building, St. Louis, for example, the cast-iron columns occur behind alternating vertical shafts of masonry, but at least the verticality of structure is accentuated. This is not to belittle the attitude of structural honesty but could readily be compared to the vertical steel channels applied (also decoratively?) to the exterior of the Lake Shore Drive apartments, Chicago, 1951, by Mies van der Rohe, which do not reflect on the exterior of the building the actual reinforced concrete structure behind. Both the Wainwright Building and the Mies apartment block need the closer spaced vertical module for greater flexibility on plan and the positioning of partition walls. An even more blatant example of external verticality apparently unrelated to internal structure is Mies's Seagram Building, New York, 1956-58, where the bronze channels are applied to the structural frame. Mies wanted to express his steel frame but had to encase the steel in concrete for fire protection. He thus applied decorative channels for aesthetic conceptualization. In the above examples, Sullivan and Mies utilized a vertical expression slightly

independent of the actual structure and insodoing achieved the appearance of structural verticality as well as the actuality.

166. University of Virginia Archives, Faculty Report to the Rector and Visitors, 31 October 1895.

167. Julien Gaudet, Eléments et Théorie d'Architecture, Paris, 1901, p.134.

168. NYHS M&P, Miscellaneous file, M-3, undated statement.

169. Ibid., Norcross Brothers of Worcester, Massachusetts, made an estimate of the design of $118,000. The parishioners then had to decide whether they wanted a classical design at that price, although they had budgeted only $80,000! Charles W. Eliot of Harvard supported McKim, Mead and White and was as disappointed as they when the whole parish voted against their scheme. He considered the parish an "incompetent tribunal" in a letter of February 3, 1900, to McKim. Cram, Goodhue and Fergusson submitted no less than three different Gothic designs to ensure a chance of winning but the commission was finally awarded to a local firm, Cabot, Everett and Mead. Edward Clark Cabot (1818-1901) partnered with two of his former draftsmen Arthur G. Everett(1855-1925) and Samuel W. Mead, 1885-88 . The competition must therefore date from these years.

170. University of Virginia Archives, Faculty Report to the Rector and Visitors, 31 October 1895.

171. NYHS M&P, Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, file M-20.

172. Desmond and Croly, p.233.

173. Moore, McKim, p.41.

174. Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States, Washington, 1932, pl.140, "Railroads 1870" and Rand McNally Handy Railroad Atlas of the United States, Chicago, 1971.

175. See Antoinette F. Downing and Vincent J. Scully, Jr., The Architectural Heritage of Newport, Rhode Island, Cambridge, 1952.

176. See Fiske Kimball, Mr. Samuel McIntire, Carver, the Architect of Salem, Salem, 1940.

177. Hitchcock, Richardson, p.238n.

178. Mariana Griswold Van Rensselaer illustrated India Hill in her article "American Country Dwellings," The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine, May 1866.

179. NYHS M&P, Stanford White Collection, letter from Joseph Wells, from Florence, Italy, January 18, 1881. The letter is also quoted by Baldwin, White, p.367.

180. See Strawberry Banke Inc., Architecture Near the Piscataqua, Portsmouth, 1964.

181. A memoire written by Mead and incorporated into Moore's McKim, pp.40-42, quotation p.42.

182. See Lawrence Wodehouse, "Ammi Burnham Young, 1798-1874," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 25 (December 1966): 268-80; "Ammi Young's Architecture in Northern New England," Vermont History Spring 1968, pp.53-60.
Winslow Ames, "The Vermont State House," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 23 (December 1964): 193-99; "The Vermont State House and Its Furniture," Antiques 88 (August 1965): 200-04.

183. Geoffrey P. Moran, "The Post Office and Custom House at Portsmouth, New Hampshire and Its Architect A.B. Young," Old-Time New England 57 (Spring 1967): 85-102.

184. Joan Draper, "The Ecole des Beaux-Arts and the Architectural Profession in the United States," The Architect: Chapters in the History of the Profession, edited by Spiro Kostof, New York, 1977, p.211.

185. NYHS MSS.

186. Scully, The Shingle Style, p.149.

187. Marcus Whiffen, American Architecture Since 1780, Cambridge, Mass., 1969, p.167.

188. See Theodore E. Stebbins, Jr., "Richardson and Trinity Church," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 27 (December 1968): 281-98; and James F. O'Gorman, "O.W. Norcross, Richardson's 'Master Builder,' a Preliminary Report," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 32 (May 1973): 104-113. Norcross Brothers of Worcester, Massachusetts, were the granite, stone suppliers and invariably general contractors of almost all of the firm's buildings: the notable exception being the Boston Public Library by McKim when Woodbury and Leighton were the principal contractors.

189. NYHS M&P, Garfield folder.

190. Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 29 (October 1968): 176-201.

191. Herbert Croly, "The Layout of a Large Estate, Harbor Hill,

the Country Seat of Mr. Clarence Mackay at Roslyn, L.I.," Architectural Record 16 (December 1904): 531-555.

192. NYHS M&P, Mackay boxes 259-68. This quotation, box 262. See also Lawrence Wodehouse, "Stanford White and the Mackays: A Case Study of Architect-Client Relationships," Winterthur Portfolio 11 (1976): 213-33.

193. NYHS, Twombly folder M-15.

194. NYHS M&P, Pulitzer file, M-15.

195. Marble as a construction material, as opposed to an internal decorative veneer, had been used in the United States from the early nineteenth century, quarried mainly in the Appalachian Mountains, Vermont to Alabama. No less than sixteen states quarry marble ranging in colour from the white and grey marbles of Alabama and Georgia, the grey-pink of Tennessee to the variegated and multi-coloured veins of Vermont. It tended to be transported by river. Quarrying is achieved with the aid of channeling machines which cut the marble, but wedges and drill holes are also used. The first marble building in the United States was the Doric Bank of the United States at Erie, Pennsylvania, of 1836, but it became generally used after the Civil War by the official government architects such as A.B. Mullett, who used the warm coloured marble from Tennessee. This grey-pink marble was used on numerous buildings combining the activities of customs service, post office and federal court. A large number of structures in Washington are of the same Tennessee marble including I.M. Pei's National Gallery East Wing, opened in 1978, where it is used as a facing. McKim used pink Knoxville marble on the Morgan Library, and E.C. Potter, an east Tennessee for the flanking lions on either side of its entrance.

196. Stanford White, "The Buildings of the University of Virginia," Corks and Curls 2 (1898): 127-30.

197. Lawrence Wodehouse, "Alfred B. Mullett and His French Style Government Buildings," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 31 (March 1972): 33.

198. American Architect 91 (9 March 1907): caption to detail no. 1628.

199. The King Model Dwellings, New York, 1891. Phillips McCandlish, "City Seeks a Way to Save Harlem Enclave," New York Times, March 30, 1972 (Section L) p.39.

200. John Bogart, "The Industrial Village of Echota at Niagara Falls," Cassier's Magazine 8 (1895): 307-21.

201. A.J. Bloor, "The Late Edward T. Potter," American Archi-

tect Building News 87 (21 January 1905): 21-22.

202. Roy Lubove, "I.N. Phelps Stokes: Tenement Architect, Economist, Planner," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 23 (May 1964): 75-87. The article illustrates work by Ernest Flagg and others.

203. Leland Martin Roth,"The Urban Architecture of McKim, Mead and White: 1870-1910," Doctoral dissertation, Yale University, 1973, notably pp.1-13.

CHAPTER TWO

THE EARLY YEARS IN ARCHITECTURE

Mariana Griswold Van Rensselaer dedicated her biography of Henry Hobson Richardson and His Works, published only two years after his death in 1888, to his pupils--"to the value of the assistance which they gave their master in his work and an expression of the belief that their own work will show, more convincingly than any words, the greatness of his qualities as an artist and a teacher."[1] Of the pupils, Stanford White was unquestionably the most imaginative and sympathetic, and gave greatest co-operation to Richardson in his various designs while an assistant from 1872 to 1878. "Richardson had in White an able assistant, the best he ever found; but White still worked under his direction. . . ." Such is the evaluation of Henry-Russell Hitchcock in The Architecture of H.H. Richardson and His Times, first published in 1936.[2] Hitchcock justifiably lauded the contribution of White, awarding him, on occasions, considerable credit.

TRINITY CHURCH, BOSTON AND THE WILLIAM WATTS SHERMAN HOUSE, NEWPORT, RHODE ISLAND

White entered the office of Gambrill and Richardson prior to October 1872 and seems to have worked on the F.W. Andrews house at Newport, commissioned in July of that year.[3] But the two major commissions identified with White's creative ability

are Trinity Church, Boston (Fig.17), won by Richardson in competition during the same July, and the William Watts Sherman house, Newport, commissioned in September 1874 and begun the following year.

Trinity Church passed through numerous revisions in its massing and detailed design, and between April 5 and 15, 1874, Richardson made a preliminary sketch of the central crossing tower based upon Salamanca Cathedral, Spain (Fig.18). "The story goes that La Farge sent Richardson a group of photographs, among which was one of the cathedral of Salamanca. . . ." Hitchcock assumed that "White then made a drawing modifying the scheme to fit the new church. . . ."(Fig.19) suggesting that the detailed intricacies were White's and "out of harmony with the more massive treatment of the lower part of the church."[4] This was not entirely true as Theodore E. Stebbins, Jr., a student of Hitchcock at Harvard during 1965, discovered in his research on Trinity Church. Stebbins questioned Hitchcock's conclusions of thirty years earlier, for which he said there was little evidence; Stebbins based his judgement upon the April 1874 drawing by Richardson which preceded that by White.[5]

A letter of considerable interest and importance was written to Mead by E. Winchester Donald, rector of Trinity and chairman of the committee for finishing the church, on February 14, 1893, "The question arose: who is our architect. . . ?" Donald inquired:

> "There is some sort of a relation between the Committee, having in charge the completion of the church, and a firm of architects here /Shepley, Rutan and Coolidge/, the successors of Richardson, whose name I do not know; but in the immediate future, I propose to find out exactly what our relations are to them; to examine their plans, and then, if the plans are not satisfactory, as I already understand they are not, we shall be in a position to ask the assistance of other architects. . . . In my judgment, the man whom Trinity Church should call in to assist in this critical juncture, is Mr. Stanford White. . . that to his genius was due in some part, perhaps in large part, the final shape which the tower assumed. . . . Now, where is White? Mr. Fenner told me the other day that he has gone to Egypt. If he has, when will he come back. . . ?"[6]

We do not know of Mead's reply, but professional etiquette would have prevented the firm from poaching upon the commissions entrusted to Richardson's successors.

White worked on numerous projects in Richardson's office as an undated letter from C.A. Coolidge of Shepley, Rutan and Coolidge indicates. Coolidge wrote to White concerning Mariana Griswold Van Rensselaer's biography of Richardson asking "men who at

different times stood at the head of the office. . . [to make] pen and ink drawings. . . drawn directly over photographs. . . ."[7] of projects on which they worked. White was asked to do two sketches from a list of three including Unity Church, Springfield, Massachusetts--Richardson's first building of 1866 (a building on which White could not have worked), Hampden County Courthouse, Springfield, 1871, and Ames Memorial Public Library, North Easton, 1877, upon which White is known to have contributed specific details.[8] The sketches in Mrs. Van Rensselaer's book vary in presentation. There is no sketch of the Hampden County Courthouse and the two drawings of Unity Church are studies, but the lively, dynamic drawing of the North Easton library is dramatic in its execution, the building silhouetted against black grass and trees and a contoured sky: it could quite well be by White (Fig.20).[9]

In the Watts Sherman house (Fig.21), Hitchcock gives even more detailed considerations to the stylistic differences of, and contributions to the design by Richardson and White. "The plan and the general composition were. . . certainly Richardson's . . . ." but the later detailing by White from 1879 to 1881, after he had severed ties with Richardson, led Hitchcock to the conclusion that he had "almost certainly. . . been responsible for the internal and external detail from the first. . ." since the whole ties so well together. An internal sketch of the staircase and hall "was almost certainly drawn by White." (Fig.22).[10] This drawing in addition to an external view signed

by White were published in The New York Sketch Book of Architecture for 1875. Later alterations by White such as the conversion of the drawing room into a library introduced not only Colonial but also linear growth foliage of proto-Art Nouveau style, in addition to Japonaise qualities.[11] The sensuousness of line could have been transmitted by association with Augustus Saint-Gaudens who collaborated notably on the plaque of Oakes Ames which was incorporated into an elaborately designed fireplace at North Easton, 1877-1879.

The unexecuted Rush Cheney house at South Manchester, Connecticut, 1876, a shingle pile with stone base and Arts and Crafts plaster ornament, half timbering and spindle balustrade, was "definitely White's," as was the 1878 project for the James Cheney House in the same town. The former was actually built by McKim, Mead and White and completed in 1887--although not for Rush Cheney himself who died in 1882, but for his four children, Harry, Robert, Louise and Anne. The James Cheney house project "should be considered the first of White's houses rather than the last of Richardson's." This was Richardson's legacy to White, the latter working "better under the direction" of the former "than later in a partnership of equals" where according to Hitchcock White "lost the Richardson discipline."[12]

White had known McKim as an assistant in Richardson's office during the late summer and early autumn of 1872, and as an architect occupying an office in the same building at 57 Broadway as Gambrill and Richardson.[13] Although McKim moved to

Brookline, Massachusetts in 1874, the year in which he collaborated with Mead on the Providence City Hall competition, the professional interests of McKim and White must have provided a continuous interchange of attitudes, ideals and ideas. The fact that the three, together with Bigelow, went on their "celebrated trip" of 1877 to search out examples of Colonial New England architecture, shows that McKim, Mead and White were all on the same wave-length.

White stayed in the Richardson office after the New England tour until July 1878 when he left for Paris, joining McKim and Augustus Saint-Gaudens. White had known Saint-Gaudens since 1875 when he discovered the sculptor singing the Andante from Beethoven's Fifth Symphony in the German Savings Bank Building, New York.[14] The three redheads were to be life-long friends--Stanford impetuously dragging Gus (Saint-Gaudens) off to Rheims to see the thirteenth century sculptures and thence to Laon where White had numerous details photographed. On August 2, 1878, both McKim and White dragged Gus from his work for a trip to the south of France. They travelled through St. Germain des Pres, Versailles, Sens, to Avignon, "the residence of the popes; and it has the largest most grandiose medieval castle in the world now used as a barracks. It is by far the most impressive town we were in,"[15] wrote White to his family on September 1. On to Arles, St. Gilles, Nimes, Le Puy, Issoire, and up through the Loire Valley "surrounded by magnificent old chateaux,"[16] Tours, Blois and back to Paris. In thirteen months White filled six folio scrapbooks with sketches

of France, Belgium and the Low Countries, as merely one tribute of his tour. Paintings were another passion and at the South Kensington Museum he spied "at least fifty screaming Renaissance panels! Never was such a place as London! Never such a country as England! For example, do you know that at Windsor there are upwards of one hundred--mark you, one hundred--Holbein drawings?. . . Did I say spend a week in London? A lifetime is too short a time in which to explore that ancient--and by us neglected--city."[17]

EARLY DOMESTIC WORK AND CHURCHES

Upon White's return to the United States, Richardson wanted and expected him to go back to the Boston office, but the partnership of McKim, Mead and Bigelow had been dissolved and White was invited to replace Bigelow.[18] McKim and Mead had collaborated as early as 1874 and with Bigelow competed unsuccessfully for the Union League Club, New York, proposed a rectory for Christ Church, Rye, New York, and built a house for Mrs. A.C. Alden at Lloyd's Neck, Long Island.[19]

Charles McKim had married Annie Bigelow, the sister of William B. Bigelow, on October 1, 1874, but they were divorced in 1878, an event which must have strained the relationship of the two partners. According to Mead, the "retirement of Mr. Bigelow /created a void and/ we offered Mr. White a partnership, which he accepted with great enthusiasm."[20] McKim's justification of such a step was that "White has not had much training, but

he can draw like a house on fire!"[21] "The agreement" between the partners, according to Charles Baldwin, "was written by Mead, on yellow scratch paper, and called for a division of profits--after all expenses have been paid--as follows: McKim, 42%; Mead, 33% and White, 25%. The first year the profits amounted to something less than $5,000."[22] In a letter to Saint-Gaudens on September 9, 1879, White wrote:

> "My Beloved Snooks,
>
> ". . . I have gone into partnership with McKim and Mead on the same proposition made to me in Mead's letter. It really, after all, was quite as liberal as I could expect for the first year. If I can get a little decorative work outside of the office, I shall manage all right."[23]

During the first few years in the establishment of a successful practice, White's contribution consisted mainly of domestic work varying from Queen Anne eclecticisms and the French Medieval Norman-Romanesque to the style of François 1er and Palladian Colonialism, with a dash of New Mexico Spanish and Japanese modular design. This allusion of Japanese influence refers to the dining room interior of 1880-81, and addition to Richard Upjohn's "Kingscote," Newport, of 1841. On either side of the square fireplace bay are Tiffany glass block panels which together with the windows at the side of the room create the impression of movable screens divided vertically by posts and horizontally by a plate rail, almost seven feet above floor

level, which continues across the fireplace. Numerous interiors, especially in Shingle Style structures by McKim, Mead and White throughout the 1880's had this simple skeletal Japanese influence as a facet of spatial arrangements which were partially oriental. But they were equally a part of the Richardson legacy of interpenetrating spaces, of which he was a master. Such qualities, in the spirit of Richardson, are to be found as the nineteenth century evolved into the twentieth. Richardson qualities lingered in the work of White, but the Romanesque style as such was soon forgotten in the work of the young architect who had served the master for six years.

Royal Cortissoz (1869-1948), art critic of the New York Tribune, was an apprentice in the office of McKim, Mead and White from 1886 to 1890. In the year that he left to become art critic for the New York Commercial Advertiser he was asked by White for "a few paragraphs" of biographical information. Replying on April 23, 1890, Cortissoz enclosed sixteen handwritten notepages now deposited in the New York Historical Society in which he states "by the time Trinity Church in Boston was to be built he /White/ had achieved sufficient distinction to be entrusted with much of the superintendence of that great work."[24] Cortissoz then discusses Richardson's dependence upon the Romanesque and Richard Upjohn's dependence, of an earlier generation, upon the Gothic, but clearly shows how White was more universal: "Mr. White typifies the most advanced artistic culture in America because he has always been susceptible to the finer examples

of every style. Culture in any field, literary or artistic, may be defined as a receptivity to the best ideas--the most cultural men are essentially eclectic for they are gifted with largeness of views that ignore mere geographical boundaries."[25] One example, to illustrate the point, was a two-storey building on a twenty-foot lot for Robert Goelet at 9 West Seventeenth Street. It was built in brick with granite dressings and "a facade with round arches and simple columns on the first floor and a dormer window with stepped gable at the roof," typically eclectic but totally "harmonious."[26] After listing a dozen or so works of White, Cortissoz discusses some country houses such as the Charles J. Osborn house on a bluff of rocks at Mamaroneck on Long Island Sound, 1884-1885, as witnessing the guidance of "the old farm buildings of Normandy."[27]

The idea of a summerhouse at Mamaroneck, 1883-85 (Fig.35) coupled with limited accommodations situated on the opposite side of a driveway which tunneled through the four-storey mass, was without doubt inspired by Richardson's F.L. Ames Gate Lodge on Elm Street, North Easton, Massachusetts, 1880-81. Dark grey stones replaced Richardson's field stones, and the single tower flanking the arch at North Easton was translated into four cylinders or part cylinders capped by tall conical roofs with wide overhangs. Roof and walls of most of the third storey were grey shingle, as was the whole stable complex. Out of the stable roof (Fig.36) and also the main roof of the house protruded a tower reminiscent of the Newport Casino by McKim

and White. Above the driveway arch White incorporated shells and pebbles into the stucco. Winter quarters consisted of billiard room and bedrooms and across the driveway was the double storey, oak paneled baronial hall with balcony. From the hall led the staircase, the reception room with Colonial period mantels and a ceiling by T.W. Dewing representing the allegory of spring. The drawing room, partially incorporated into the base of one of the towers, was furnished in salmon red silk plush with yellow arabesques interspersed with purple flowers. Mrs. Osborn's bedroom, like so many bedrooms for the wives of clients, was white with delicate detailing picked out in gold, whereas Mr. Osborn's suite was lined in a more masculine manner with walls covered in bamboo matting. The gate-lodge (Fig.37) was more akin to the Norman vernacular--a single tower, dominant roofs and the true scale of a small farmhouse, but without the shingles of the main house or the stables.

White used shingles just as he utilized ornamental stucco on the main house, but his contribution to the Shingle Style was negligible and limited to the roofs and upper levels of walls, as in Richardson's Bryant house, Cohasset, Massachusetts, 1880, or the Watts Sherman house designed by White in Richardson's office. All the discussion of the work of McKim, Mead and White in Vincent Scully's The Shingle Style[28] is by McKim, with the exception of the Isaac Bell house (Fig.38) and the Robert Goelet house (Fig.39), both 1882-83 at Newport, the Mrs. E.F. Metcalfe Mansion, Buffalo, New York, 1883-84, and the Joseph

H. Choate house, Stockbridge, Massachusetts, 1887. The Cyrus McCormick house, Richfield Springs, New York, 1880-81, is also attributed to White by Scully.[29] White also designed the Short Hills Casino, New Jersey, 1879-80, a commission given to McKim by Stewart Hartshorn, for whom McKim had designed a residence. Hartshorn wanted to develop a community at Short Hills and the multi-purpose casino was to be its focal point. It is playful, not only in the use of materials and architectural elements but also in the manner in which they are disposed. A bracket from a circular tower supports a gable roof but the bracket is not perpendicular to the eaves, rather it runs parallel under the eaves and sweeps down into the curve of the tower. An extremely ornate entrance fits tightly into the corner of the building under an over-sailing extension to the roof. Similar qualities pervade the Newport Casino where McKim seems to have controlled the symmetrical but picturesque street facade, while White was responsible for the courtyard at the rear where a profusion of verandahs, gables, balconies, baywindows, windows slicing the corners off rooms and with a tall tapering circular tower with ogee roof dominating the whole, now ivy covered, provides an even more rustic character. The casino contained (and still does) a restaurant, club facilities and on the street, eight shops as a means of revenue, all masterminded by James Gordon Bennett who was later to commission the firm to design two yacht interiors and the Herald Building, New York, 1892-95.

Vincent Scully considers the Bell house a masterpiece, suggesting

that the "bamboo-like porch columns. . . resemble those drawn by Viollet-Le-Duc for his Chinese house (Fat Fau's house) in the first part of his Habitations of Man in All Ages,"[30] published in the first volume of the American Architect and Building News.[31] Above one circular portion of the verandah a turret rises, similar to that of the Newport Casino. Brick was used for the base of the wood-framed house, the walls of which were lost in the deep shadows of the verandah, above which shingles cover the walls and gable roofs of the attic level. This comparatively small $25,000 home had a large oak hall with an extensively tiled fireplace; study, drawing room, reception room, and dining room and staircase leading from the hall.

The Robert Goelet house cost eight times as much as the Bell house, but the different layers of materials persisted. Stone provided the basement layer upon which sat a diaper-patterned brickwork first floor. Again the second storey and roof level were of shingle, including the round towers at the outer angles. A porte-cochere led into an oak hall of Medieval proportions (when communal living was a way of life) measuring 44x30 feet and 24 feet high. The double height brick fireplace was designed upon Count Rumford principles to conserve heat and provide a fresh air supply without draughts. In the hall was an "old fashioned carved and canopied bedstead, converted into a divan on whose top appear pots of large ferns."[32]

Mrs. E.F. Metcalfe's house, Buffalo, is unbelievably crude for Stanford White. Basement and first floor are of random rubble,

the second storey, brick with stone trim, and the attic gable-roof level of shingle from which protrude rusticated stone chimneys. A shingled bay from basement to eaves is clumsy and inarticulated, as are the becolumned porches of Newport Casino character. Sheldon used this house to make a point: "We may remark, in conclusion, that the striking individuality of Mrs. Metcalfe's house does not tend to promote sympathy with Mr. Ruskin's dogma that the architecture of a nation is great only when it is as universal and established as its language, and when provincial differences of style are nothing more than so many dialects."[33] But Mr. Ruskin had not yet heard of the new era of American architecture. Sheldon's preface to Artistic Country Seats is also worth quoting here since it established the significance of American domestic architecture in a country which had been more enamoured with Ruskin than his country of origin. "In the Renaissance of American art, which, beginning with the year of the Centennial Exhibition at Philadelphia /1876/. . . the architect has been conspicuous. . . . This fact was recognized a short time ago by a committee of architects from Great Britain who had been sent to this country to inquire into the condition of our architecture, and who found in the country-seat the American architect's chief triumph."[34]

Joseph Choate's fifty-two acre site in the Berkshire Hills at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, provided the knoll on which White built a French farmhouse-looking structure. Here the stonework merges into the brick, which at second floor is diapered, and shingle roofs are dominated by two ogee-shaped turretted roofs.

A brick porte-cochere, as opposed to the usual wood structures, introduced the guests into a large oak hall with Tiffany brick fireplace; as usual the major rooms radiated from the hall.

If the Osborn house was Norman, and thus another facet of French architecture, then its urban counterpart, the Charles L. Tiffany house (Fig.40) at Seventy-second Street and Madison Avenue, New York, 1884, was a free adaptation of the Romanesque. It followed stylistically the partially Queen Anne North Easton Town Hall, 1879-81, by Richardson: "an awkward and aggressive pile. . . unworthy of his genius," according to Hitchcock.[35] The vast pile at Seventy-second Street for Charles L. Tiffany, the Union Square jeweller, was built at a cost of half a million dollars, exclusive of furnishings.[36] Louis Comfort Tiffany, the great American Art Nouveau designer (notably in favril glass), had employed White as architect for his father's mansion, designed to accommodate separate apartments of twenty rooms for father on the first two floors, his daughter on the third floor and three floor levels in the roof space for Louis Comfort who made a sketch of his proposal for the roof silhouette. Louis, Stanford, John La Farge and Augustus Saint-Gaudens must have worked in as close collaboration on the house as they had on Trinity Church. Collaboration was nothing new to this group of New York artists who looked upon themselves as universal men of fifteenth century Florence, the new Athens.[37]

Interiors of the Tiffany Mansion were ponderous with wood paneling of assorted hardwoods, but this effect and the space

flow, especially in the grand stair from the main hall, was Richardsonian. The dining room was tall and barrel vaulted with fireplace end wall consisting of a mosaic of tiles, an Art Nouveau panel above of swirling clouds and trees comparable to the movement of a Van Gogh painting, above which an arch of Sullivanesque decoration was delineated by the vault (Fig.41).[38] Externally the basement and ground level consisted of North-River blue stone punctured by a Romanesque carriage arch, then three floors of yellowish speckled-glazed "Tiffany brick" of Roman proportions, 13"x4"x1½", and above, the gabled roof on Seventy-second Street, equal in height to three additional floors. A long balcony on the Seventy-second Street side divided the lower accommodation of Tiffany Senior from that of his daughter. Walls were a rich texture of colour from bluestone and yellowish brick to the dark brown tiles of the roof. It must have appeared a magnificent pile when residential development was reaching up into the Seventies and Eighties along the east side of Central Park.

A year prior to the completion of the Tiffany Mansion in 1884, two other houses were built by McKim, Mead and White and both in the François I^{er}, sixteenth century French Renaissance style. The Ross R. Winans house (Fig.42) on St. Paul's Street, Baltimore, was definitely by White, but it is not altogether certain whether McKim or White designed the Charles A. Whittier house on Beacon Street, Boston, next to and really an extension of the F.L. Higginson house by Richardson (Fig.43). Richardson was

commissioned to design the Higginson house in 1881 and proposed an all Longmeadow stone pile, of square headed windows, even in the five horizontal dormer bays in the roof. Elevational drawings in the Houghton Library, Harvard, illustrate the development from this early facade treatment to a compromise solution based upon designs of the adjoining house by McKim, Mead and White. The Whittier house, completed in 1883 is in the style of François I^{er}, in brick with stone trim and a brownstone ground level. Windows and tower provide the vertical French emphasis, as does the detailing. Richardson complied with these elements, but in a compromising manner in the Higginson house, in addition to marrying the cornice lines and utilizing the same combination of materials. Hitchcock considered the Higginson house "clumsy and hybrid rather than original" notably in the late Gothic dormer, compared to the Whittier, "distinctly the better of the two."[39]

McKim's biographer Charles Moore at one point states emphatically "McKim designed the Charles A. Whittier House!"[40] But it is more than likely that White was the designer, since the Ross Winans house, Baltimore, of the same period, is a continuity of French early sixteenth century inspiration, and both houses have these common characteristics. Cylindrical tower and conical cap, dominant tall end gable and dormers, stone at first floor, brick above with stone trim and the François I^{er} decoration are common to both. Winans is constructed of brownstone ashlar and red brick with narrow joints and brownstone detailing. Although compartmentalised on plan, large sliding doors between rooms

could slide back into the walls to create a tremendous flow of space. The architecture of H.H. Richardson was a personalized individual expression. It began with a Romanesque revival after his Shavian and Queen Anne periods, but soon developed a Richardsonian individuality. Such an idiom was easy to copy as can be seen in the numerous works of the pasticheurs of Richardson in the 1880's. Having established this special character and quality, Richardson prevented his followers from developing an individual expression of their own.[41] It has often been suggested that Stanford White was too great an individualist to have followed in the Richardsonian idiom, but this is not entirely true. His Judson Memorial Church (Fig.44) on the south side of Washington Square, New York, 1888-91, was Italian Romanesque leaning toward the Renaissance. Since the Italian Renaissance was a survival of Roman forms carried through the Medieval period by Romanesque master masons, this stylistically transitional period church was a logical development. The porch which White added to St. Bartholomew's Church (Fig.45) on the northwest corner of Madison Avenue and Forty-fourth Street, completed in 1872 to the Lombardic Romanesque-Gothic design of Renwick and Sands, was an essay based upon the front facade of St. Gilles-du-Gard (Fig.46), the twelfth century French Provencal Romanesque church near Arles. White's portico was a compositional frame to display the sculptures of Daniel Chester French, Andrew O'Connor, Herbert Adams and Philip Martiny, and will be discussed at an appropriate point in a later chapter. Another church already discussed is Trinity Church, Roslyn, L.I., 1906, built for Mrs. Katherine Mackay. Its cruciform plan, round

headed windows and stepped buttresses link it only vaguely to the Romanesque. The remaining designs by White more closely related to the Romanesque style are the First Methodist-Episcopal (now Lovely Lane) Church (Fig.47) at St. Paul and Twenty-second Streets, Baltimore, 1882-1887, built for John F. Goucher, and structures for the Niagara Falls Power Company.

Montgomery Schuyler discussed the Baltimore church in his Architectural Record assessment: "Romanesque Revival in America," stating that it "is one of the happiest examples of the skill of those designers. . . albeit its Romanesqueness appears rather in character than in detail. . . . It is a modern 'auditorium church' /demanded by the minister John F. Goucher/ and the amphitheatrical sweep is perfectly expressed, . . . /an/ oval /within/ a rectangular building."[42] Schuyler felt that the ten-storey tower, capped by a steep hood which oversails the castellations of the 186-foot high tower, were "more carefully wrought out in detail. The masses are so powerful that they would have borne a much higher elaboration than they have received. . . . Rudeness is the defect of the quality of massiveness that so eminently belongs to the Romanesque, but it is not in itself an artistic quality."[43] Schuyler thought that Richardson's imitators produced "archaic" lumps which they mistook for the master's teaching. The dominant tower very roughly textured and capped by its cone, acted as much as a marker to the north of the downtown area of Baltimore on rising ground as did the eleventh century abbey at Pomposa,

Italy, upon which it is based. After this initial association with White, John Goucher employed him on a series of Romanesque structures in the vicinity of the church for the Women's College at Baltimore (Fig.48), later Goucher College. The Physical Culture Building was constructed 1887-88, the Conservatory of Music, 1890, Girl's Latin School, 1891, Fine Arts Building, 1894, and a house for Dr. Goucher (Fig.49) (not in the Romanesque style) at 2313 St. Paul Street, 1891-92, which became a college dormitory in the 1930's.[44] Dr. Goucher's residence was in the second phase of the nineteenth century Renaissance Revival style, built as a simple brick box on a rock-faced basement, with stone cornices on which rested windows framed in stone. Ground level windows were circular headed, as was the entrance and canopy; second floor windows were square headed with cornices; and third floor were circular but set in a square frame with roundels and cornice, all windows being a rearrangement of the fenestrations of the Chancelleria Palace, Rome, 1486-98, the prototype of the Villard Mansion.

White wrote to Goucher on July 19, 1890, "I have tried to treat the house in a quiet and rather Colonial manner and have made two studies for it, either could be built for the same price."[45] Goucher, given the choice, undoubtedly chose the Renaissance composition over that of the Colonial, either because of White's Garrett House on Mount Vernon Place, Baltimore, 1886, or because of the more famous and earlier Villard Mansion. One can only speculate why the Romanesque was used for the church and college buildings. Was Dr. Goucher given the choice or did he

perhaps feel that the Romanesque was an appropriate style for religious and collegiate buildings? Goucher College buildings had all the inherent qualities of the Romanesque, from walls of undressed stone, square windows punched through the huge arched openings appearing as very much part of the structure. Romanesque colonnades, an occasional segmental arch and lintols across arched windows at the springing, added interest of the massiveness of the walls below bracketted eaves and low pitched, hipped, Roman tile roofs.

Another cluster of Romanesque structures was built for the Niagara Falls Power Company, which began construction of its first hydro-electric generating station on October 4, 1890, after the United States government had granted patents in 1888 for generating and distributing what were termed poly-phase electrical currents. Power house number one (Fig.50) was a T-shaped building in brownstone consisting of rows of arches as in a Roman aqueduct. Internally, cast and wrought iron perimeter columns and beams created an uninterrupted space for housing and moving machinery associated with the generators, so that the polychromatic stone exterior was really nothing more than a skin. Richardson's Marshall Field Wholesale Store, based upon the Roman aqueduct at Seville, encased the four square building by tiers of arcades. White was enclosing a different shaped space, but a storehouse nevertheless for the enclosure of electrical machinery. Power house number two (Fig.51) was even longer, having three cross gable pavilions to relieve the monotony of its length. A gable ended pavilion protruded

through the cross gable elements at each end so that the end composition was similar to and based upon Richardson's New London Railroad Station. The central feature was a huge, deeply recessed Romanesque entrance including columns and wide voussoirs comparable to portals on Richardson's Allegheny County Courthouse, Pittsburgh. Edward D. Adams of the company wrote to White on July 14, 1892:

> "I am very obliged for your prompt and clear cut method of dealing with the question of the plans for Ni-a-ga-ra. I have signed a check for you today, and you will receive an official communication from the Company on the subject. I am going up to Ni-a-ga-ra on Friday night to spend Saturday and Sunday there, with the intention, while there, of letting a contract for the construction of possibly 20 and 25 houses. . . ."(Fig.52)[46]

Ultimately sixty-seven houses, some duplexes, were built to house 112 families on eighty-four acres, of which more than half was left as open space. There was a batchelor's apartment house with assembly hall and general store at ground level. The whole village was called Echota.

Judson Memorial Baptist Church on the south side of Washington Square, New York, is stylistically an essay which spans from the Romanesque into the early Italian Renaissance. Chronologically in the works of McKim, Mead and White, it was designed in 1888, but did not begin building until 1893, ten years after their

initial experiments in the Renaissance. The campanile of the church, ten storeys high but less massive than the Baltimore church, would not have been out of place in Romanesque Ravenna, Italy, except that its tower is too open with too little wall massing. Leland Roth in his doctoral dissertation looked further south in Italy for the source of the design and states: "The arcades of the sanctuary, the campanile, the flat golden Roman brick and the details of the entire building are based on the eleventh and twelfth century Italian churches, most specifically Santa Maria in Cosmedin, Rome, c.1120-1200."[47]

At the base of the tower deeply incized channeled stone courses of High Renaissance palazzi derivation ties through an entrance link to the base of the church itself. The entrance is modeled upon a Renaissance ciborium--as the one in S. Miniato al Monte, Florence, or possibly Alberti's composition of the entrance for the facade of S. Maria Nouvella, Florence.

The main body of the church appears at first to be similar to Carl Friedrich Schinkel's St. Johannes Kirche zu Zittau im Konigreich Sachsen, illustrated at plate XLII of Samlung Architectonischer Entwurfe von Dr. C.F. Schinkel, Potsdam, 1847. The altar end of Schinkel's church, however, was undoubtedly based upon a similar source to one actually seen by Stanford White: a Renaissance colonnade blocked up by later builders producing a series of blank arcades. Schinkel's arcade windows are divided by pairs of pilasters, White's by single Corinthian pilasters supporting arches enframing the

windows or blank panels. In the pediment above are circular motifs typical of Lombardic fourteenth century architecture and as adapted by Bramante at S. Maria della Grazie, Milan.

Judson Memorial Church, a centennial tribute to the birth of Adoniram Judson who was a Baptist missionary to Burma, stylistically spans five hundred years of Italian architecture. Its Renaissance detailing as discussed, takes us well ahead of the McKim, Mead and White Second Renaissance Revival phase, which began with the American Safe Deposit Company Building and the Henry Villard Mansion. The latter was a design by White in collaboration with Joseph Wells, a design which spawned a whole movement.

FOOTNOTES

1. Op. cit., 1969 edition, edited by William Morgan, p.ix.
2. Op. cit., 1961 revised edition, p.161.
3. Ibid., p.132.
4. Ibid., pp.139-40.
5. Theodore E. Stebbins, "Richardson and Trinity Church: The Evolution of a Building," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 37 (December 1968): 281-98, which illustrates the Richardson drawing at Fig.12 and the White at Fig.14.
6. NYHS M&P, Stanford White file, Misc. M-3.
7. NYHS MSS, Stanford White Collection, C.A. Coolidge file.
8. Hitchcock, Richardson, p.186.
9. Illustrated in van Rensselaer's biography of Richardson, p.70.
10. Hitchcock, Richardson, p.157.
11. H.-R. Hitchcock, Rhode Island Architecture, Providence, 1939, p.56.
12. Hitchcock, Richardson, pp.161 and 163.
13. Ibid., p.133.
14. Homer Saint-Gaudens, The Reminiscences of Augustus Saint-Gaudens, New York, 1913, v.1, p.159.
15. Baldwin, p.81.
16. Ibid., p.100.
17. Ibid.
18. Baldwin, White, pp.110-11.
19. Avery Index to Architectural Periodicals, Boston, 1973, under "McKim, Mead and Bigelow."
20. Baldwin, White, p.112.
21. Ibid., p.85.
22. Ibid., p.128n2.

23. Ibid.

24. NYHS MSS.

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid.

27. Ibid., It is interesting to note that the Dutch architect Henrik P. Berlage, a later follower of Richardson, is considered to have studied Richardson on "the assumption that Richardson had chosen the Romanesque of southern France because according to contemporary thinking, this was a primitive style dating from the time that presaged many good things for the future."
A.W. Reinink, "American Influence on Late Nineteenth-Century Architecture in the Netherlands," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 29 (May 1970): 168. White's Norman indigenous vernacular would have also been comparably justified by such an assumption.

28. Chapter 8.

29. Scully, p.127.

30. Histoire de l'Habitation Humaine Dupuis les Temps Prehistoriques Jusqu'a a Nos Jours, Paris, 1875. Published in English, London and Boston, 1876.

31. American Architect and Building News 1 (26 February 1876): 68-70, as illustrated in Scully, Fig.17.

32. George W. Sheldon, Artistic Country Seats, New York, 1886-87, pp.9-10.

33. Ibid., p.62.

34. Ibid., unpaged prefatory note.

35. Hitchcock, Richardson, p.197.

36. NYHS M&P, undated, unnamed newspaper clipping in a single scrapbook of the firm.

37. White had, of course, gained the commission because of his contribution as one of the Associated Artists who worked with Louis Tiffany on the Knickerbocker Grey's Seventh Regiment Armory at Park Avenue and Sixty-seventh Street, from April to September, 1880. The armory was completed in 1879 to designs by Charles W. Clinton, but the interior of the Library and Veteran's Room were designed by Associated Artists for a fee of $20,000. Tiffany was in charge. George Yewell and Frank D. Millet, the latter having worked under La Farge's direction on Trinity, painted the frieze, and White designed a balcony--a most

delicate piece of work.

38. American Architect and Building News 12 (10 December 1887): illus. 624.

39. Hitchcock, Richardson, p.218.

40. Moore, McKim, p.95.

41. See Lawrence Wodehouse, "William Appleton Potter, Principal Pasticheur of Henry Hobson Richardson," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 32 (May 1973): 175-92, as a typical example.

42. Architectural Record 1 (October/December 1891): 151-98; quoted in William H. Jordy and Ralph Coe, American Architecture and Other Writings by Montgomery Schuyler, Cambridge, Mass., 1961, p.213.

43. Ibid., pp.43-44.

44. During 1937, Goucher College moved out of town. A competition was held for the plan and overall layout and design of buildings, which was won by John C.B. Moore and Robert S. Hutchins.

45. NYHS M&P, Goucher College file M-19.

46. NYHS M&P, Niagara Falls Power Co. (cottages) file M-15.

47. Leland Martin Roth, "The Urban Architecture of McKim, Mead and White: 1870-1910," Yale University doctoral dissertation, 1973, p.296.

CHAPTER THREE

JOSEPH WELLS AND THE RENAISSANCE REVIVAL

"Every now and then you will hear someone trying to determine the functions of the different members of the partnership to which White belonged, trying to parcel out the individual achievement of McKim, Mead, or the man we are thinking of today," said Royal Cortissoz at a meeting in honour of the late Stanford White, when the memorial doors on the library of the New York University campus in the Bronx were being dedicated in 1921. Cortissoz continued, "I won't tackle that problem, though I can't refrain from observing that there were really four in that famous company, the late Joseph M. Wells, their 'head man,' a genius if ever there was one. It simply isn't possible to talk about Stanford White without recalling his coadjutor, Wells, whom he loved."[1]

Joseph Morrill Wells (1853-1890) supposedly designed the first Second Renaissance Revival building (as opposed to the first phase in America during the 1840's and 1850's) for Henry Villard, 1882-83, on Madison Avenue, between Fifty and Fifty-first Streets, New York. Since the name of Joseph Wells is always prominent in discussions of the work of McKim, Mead and White during the 1880's Wells' contribution must be analysed.

Wells was born at Winchester, Massachusetts, on March 1, 1853,

the son of Thomas F. Wells and the great-grandson of Samuel Adams. His brother Webster Wells was at one time a professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Joseph was educated at the Allen School, West Newton, Massachusetts, and gained his architectural training in the office of Clarence Luce of Boston and Roxbury, Peabody and Stearns in Boston and possibly R.M. Hunt in New York before joining the office of McKim, Mead and Bigelow.[2]

In April 1882, McKim, due possibly to family connections, was asked to design a palace for Henry Villard.[3] McKim had to leave for Oregon soon after Villard's request in connection with the firm's design of the Hotel Portland for H.M. Whidden; Villard had suggested the firm to Whidden. White was already in New Mexico with Saint-Gaudens visiting Richard White, his brother, who had settled there. Mead was thus left in charge of the office, and, according to McKim's biographer Charles Moore "asked Wells to take the Villard houses, which he said he would do only on condition that he might throw away everything that had been done except the plan /by McKim, although the court arrangement was apparently a request by Villard/. This was agreed to. Whereupon Wells produced a Renaissance facade based on the Chancelleria."[4]

The authorship of the Villard Mansion has always been a matter of controversy. Henry-Russell Hitchcock takes the view that Joseph Wells was a major contributor to architectural design in the firm and in his biography of Richardson, states that

White "accepted from Wells and McKim the archaeological discipline of the Italian Renaissance."[5] Hitchcock even considered that "The particular agent of McKim, Mead and White's drastic reform after the picturesque orgy of their early years" of Shingle Style and other Queen Anne variations," was Joseph M. Wells,"[6] and "that the death of Wells in 1890 coincided with a distinct decline in the level of the work of the firm."[7]

Another critic, writer and historian who attempted to untangle the attributions was Royal Cortissoz, who joined the office of McKim, Mead and White in June of 1883 and thus knew Wells for seven years. Cortissoz tried to resolve the problem of the authorship of the Villard Mansion in 1928, discussing the matter with William R. Kendall, a partner from 1906 who had joined the firm in October 1882. Kendall replied on June 22, 1928:

> "My dear Royal: You remember the other day we were discussing our late friend Wells' influence upon the work of the firm, and his high standing among the architects of the country. No one feels that more strongly than I do, but as I said, we must not lose sight of the fact that as far as I know, and Van der Bent agrees with me, his work was always entirely confined to the details of buildings. In that he was simply supreme. Nobody before or since has equalled him in the appropriateness and scale of his ornamentation and this, of course, gave great

character to buildings he decorated. The ensemble of these buildings, however, and even, by implication, the kind of detail, was decidedly invariably by a member of the firm--Charles F. McKim or Stanford White, and the Villard Group and the Century Club are examples of exactly what happened. The former never could have been ascribed to White, the latter never to McKim. It is a singular fact that we have had in our office many men who, although they were far from reaching Wells' standard in ornamental detail, showed great ability in that line, but when they retired from the office and set up for themselves, surprised us by their shortcomings in the general design of the ensemble of their buildings. Of course this is the most important part of an architect's work.

"In addition to Wells' genius in detail, the important and perhaps the most important influence he had upon the firm was his stand for the Classic and particularly the Italian style of architecture. Too much cannot be said with regard to this latter point."[8]

AMERICAN SAFE DEPOSIT COMPANY BUILDING

Royal Cortissoz considered the Stanford White design for the

American Safe Deposit Company Building (Fig.53) at Forty-second Street and Fifth Avenue, of slightly earlier vintage than the Villard Mansion, to be in the Italian Renaissance style.[9] Ground floor level of the Safe Deposit Company Building was for the company's use; the Columbia Bank was situated at piano nobile level, above which were five floors of apartments. The first two floors were in a red stone with channeled joints continued into the voussoirs of the arches as in the work of Ammi Young of the first Renaissance Revival of the 1840's and '50's and comparable to any High Renaissance or sixteenth century Italian palazzi, but the upper floors were of red brick and red terra-cotta. The tall base of the building was of brownstone above which was a vertical emphasis of windows enframed in a terra-cotta decoration which were not exactly of Renaissance proportion even though based upon the Chancelleria, but were grouped vertically to emphasize the structure between the windows and the non-structural terra-cotta in the spandrel panels below windows. Immediately below the richly carved crowning cornice was a recessed floor providing balconies for the apartment occupants. Terra-cotta columns with Ionic capitals around the edge of the balcony helped support the cornice, a modification perhaps of the fourth floor of the Palazzo Guadagni, Florence, or the upper level of the cloister of S. Maria della Pace, Rome, by Bramante.[10] This open loggia motif was used by White while in New Mexico in his design for the Indian Girl's School, Ramona, Santa Fe (Fig.54).[11] The dormitories, classrooms and Women's Indian Association were situated around three sides of a courtyard separated from

refectory, kitchen and pantry on the fourth. A large arched entrance was situated in the center of the main facade which had end pavilions. Spanish railings on the circular headed windows in addition to the low pitched roofs of tile and wide overhanging cornice suited the climatic conditions of New Mexico, and provided local flavouring. The building would have suited the Iberian Peninsula of Spain or the leg of Italy, the latter of which furnished the inspiration for the Renaissance revival styles, and notably the High Renaissance inspiration for the Villard Mansion.

VILLARD HOUSES

It is impossible to definitely establish whether or not Joseph Wells was the overall designer of the Villard Mansion. He was job captain, perhaps following a precedent established by White, whose knowledge of the first phase of the Renaissance Revival has been established. White saw Ammi Young's Portsmouth Custom House and Post Office, 1857-60, on the "celebrated trip" of 1877. Alternatively, Wells could possibly have brought the idea of utilizing inspiration from Italian palazzi, when he returned from his trip to Europe beginning in July of 1880 and ending the following spring. Wells most certainly made large scale drawings of the Chancelleria and Farnese palaces while in Rome, "light in tone, fine in line" according to C. Howard Walker, who reported having been shown them by Wells in an article in the July 1929 Architectural Record.[12] Wells' trip to Europe can be traced through a series of detailed

letters which he sent to White from Paris and Florence.[13] He landed in Liverpool and proceeded from there to Chester, St. Albans, London and thence to France. Of Chester, he said, "I did not care very much for the Cathedral; but St. John's Church, an old Norman work, was very charming." In London he was also enamoured of the Norman style in St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, but dismissed London generally as "a damn big place /with/ very little architecture." This was also his conclusion concerning architecture in England, since he only really liked domestic work and the Norman: "the first isn't architecture and the second not done by Englishmen, therefore I think that the Englishmen have produced no great architecture." French architecture fared little better in the opinion of Wells. He studied the Renaissance "not because I think it the best but because it is most convenient to my own taste. I place the early 13th century gothic at the head of all modern styles, but should as soon think of designing Egyptian or Indian. It is as dead as doornails now. Any other gothic is inferior to the Renaissance." After Blois and Chambord, Wells travelled through Nantes and La Rochelle--"Damn!--The guide books aught to warn travelers against them"--to Reims, "disappointing outside," but internally "finer than Chartres." Laon was "beyond praise" and at Amiens Wells was more charmed by a farmhouse which he sketched than by the cathedral. The same was true at Beauvais, or at least half a mile from the town, where he discovered La Ferme de St. Lazare, "The most extensive and magnificent farm in France." He stayed only sixteen days in Paris, was bored, lonely and miserably cold, and desired

nothing more than to get to a drawing board in an atelier. At the end of his letter of October 10, 1880, he predicted that he would be in Italy "not later than March 1--and possibly as early as Feb. 1," but ended up in Florence on January 1, having passed through Nimes, Arles and St. Gilles. A snow storm stretching as far south as Naples greeted Wells in Florence, where he had "never felt so sensitive to the cold before." He continually desired companionship, wishing that White and George Fletcher Babb, another assistant in the office, were with him. The last letter from Florence, dated January 24, 1881, to "My Dear White" stated that he did "not find as much to sketch in Florence" as expected. "Italian architecture is great and grand and dignified. But it seems to me ill adapted for our domestic country. . . . There is nothing I have seen in Italy on a par with Chatres. On the other hand their /sic./ is nothing in France as great as the Strozzi or Pitti. . . . No Italian ever made a crazy design; like some of those things in Brittany. I leave for Rome Wednesday. . . . " And this is unfortunately where the correspondence ends. Wells returned to the United States after Rome and thus there was no need to write, since he would be in New York as fast as any letter, to provide his own descriptions of the eternal city. What is tantalizing, however, is that a single letter from Rome would have indicated either his love for sixteenth century Roman palazzi, or his continued obsession for the picturesque vernacular qualities of the Romanesque as praised in England and France. C. Howard Walker's description of the drawings by Wells of the Chancelleria and Farnese palaces is the only indication

that he was sufficiently inspired by sixteenth century Italy that upon his return to New York, he wished to design in that idiom, notably on the Villard Mansion.

McKim planned the building, and White's initial concept was for facades of rock faced stone similar to the lower floors of the Tiffany mansion. Wells' attitudes toward the Romanesque would probably have paralleled these initial ideals, unless his conversion to and the revelation of Bramante's and Michelangelo's Italy had overwhelmed him and projected him upon a course of no return. Details for the building were obtained from the firm's extensive library, notably in the volumes of Edifices de Rome Moderne, Paris, 1840, by Paul Marie Letarouilly (1795-1855), where plates LXXIX to XC are devoted to the Chancelleria. Wells as job captain had John Carrere as one of his draughtsmen.[14] White's collaborators on so many other commissions, John La Farge and Augustus Saint-Gaudens, were employed as painter and sculptor, in addition to Maitland Armstrong as mosaicist. The magnum opus of the interior of the house is the main hall beyond the entrance vestibule which cost $30,000.[15] Saint-Gaudens carved the relief figures around the fireplace and Maitland covered the vaulted ceiling with decorative mosaic work. From the hall one could enter three major rooms of the house, all expensively decorated--the drawing room costing $50,000 and the dining and music rooms each at $20,000, in a house totalling $1,300,000.[16] The dining room was decorated in mahogany and oak, a mahogany coloured silk, a floral design on the ceiling and a cream Mexican onyx fireplace carved by

Saint-Gaudens (Fig.114).[17] Two niches on either side of the fireplace were decorated each by a fish swirling in eddies of water (Fig.115), very similar to those on the base of the Admiral David Farragut Monument, also by Saint-Gaudens. The dining room fireplace no longer exists, but there is a bronze sketch of a fish and part of the niche at Aspet, the Saint-Gaudens Museum, Cornish, New Hampshire. The music room in white and gold was two storeys high with a barrel vaulted ceiling, as the Tiffany dining room but with a small balcony, above which and at opposite ends were copies of panels from Luca Della Robia's Cantoria balcony for Florence Cathedral, 1435. Above these panels in semi-circular lunettes, La Farge was commissioned to paint panels. The staircase leading from the hall had monolithic marble columns at its head and balustrading reminiscent of that on Bramante's Tempietto, Rome.

The Chancelleria was in the 1880's thought to have been designed by Bramante, the High Renaissance architect who was considered to be more Roman than the Romans. His Tempietto Pietro in Montorio, Rome, 1502-10, was the perfect centrally planned temple, the like of which no longer existed in Roman Antiquity. White obviously admired Bramante but adapted the Chancelleria in an interesting manner since the Renaissance palace had a long external facade with pavilions at the corners. It was constructed of travertine marble from the Colosseum and to a limited extent mimicked the great amphitheatre with Corinthian pilasters on the upper two storeys arranged in alternating spacing; the lowest floor was of channelled masonry. Since

the Villard Houses were to be constructed around a courtyard open on one side to Madison Avenue, as opposed to a totally enclosed cortile at the Chancelleria, the pilasters were omitted. A wide band of masonry encircled the Villard Houses at ground level and the floor above sandwiching channelled masonry between. Upper floors were of smooth ashlar, a thin band between floors, thicker at attic level just below the wide oversailing modillion cornice and quoins at the corners. The major influence of the Chancelleria was in the different window designs at each of the levels only slightly modified from the originals. Piano nobile level has the most dominant windows, plainer ones below and slightly less so above. Street and courtyard elevations create a unified structure enclosing six houses, but the Madison Avenue side has wings only three windows wide and the longest elevations on Fiftieth and Fifty-first Streets are only nine windows wide. The Houses thus merged into the streetscape of the area which included residences with basement level, stoop and four storeys above. Had the Madison Avenue side been designed as a single Chancelleria facade the building may have been overpowering for such a growing residential neighbourhood. Today the side streets of New York running east-west and perpendicular to the avenues still retain this residential flavour but the Villard Houses are now dwarfed by the huge high-rise office and residential structures in close proximity.

THE ROBERT GARRETT HOUSE

Window detailing from the Chancelleria Palace was freely adapted

on several residential structures after the Villard Mansion. Robert Garrett's expensive $75,000 town house on Mount Vernon Place, Baltimore, Maryland (Fig.57), completed in 1887, but with additions, 1892-93, now the Baltimore Engineering Club, has circular headed windows in cornice surrounding frames with spandrel roundels in the corners, on a backdrop of warm brownstone. There are again no pilasters but the simplicity is lost in the bowed bays (as on Beacon Street, Boston) amidst grained marble columns at ground level, and a delicate swag frieze below the eaves cornice level. John Goucher's house in Baltimore, already discussed, reverts to the orderly High Renaissance, but the Henry W. Poor residence in New York, 1889, has segmental headed windows, elaborate keystones and a simple modillion cornice, but a complex entrance of richly coloured marble columns and elongated protruding bay windows, conically capped at piano nobile level. Internally it was again a superb essay in interior design by White. The rather squat entrance portico leads into a low, flat plaster ceilinged hall having a mantel supported by caryatid pilasters. An elegant metal balustrade leads up to a large second floor hallway of Corinthian pilasters, and striated marble columns supporting a cornice and painted panel ceiling. Two of the columns act as a visual barrier between the staircase and hall and another pair on the other side of the hall on two steps provide a break with a seating area heated by a French sixteenth century fireplace, which would not have been out of place at Blois. From this hall lead the Adam sitting room, a Georgian library and a sixteenth century simply paneled English dining room with

geometric patterned ceiling. At the corner of the dining room, the space flows off into a magnificently lighted octagonal conservatory. White was as much a master of natural lighting effects as Sir John Soane, a hundred years earlier. In the center of the plant-filled conservatory stood four Corinthian columns supporting four different balustraded levels, the uppermost octagonal level actually touching the ceiling.

STRIVER'S ROW

Individual houses for wealthy clients and patrons of the arts was the forte of McKim, Mead and White and rarely did they enter the field of speculative town housing. David H. King, Jr. employed three firms of architects to design four rows of middle class houses on both sides of 138th and 139th Streets between Seventh and Eigth Avenues: Bruce Price and Clarence Luce, James Lord Brown and McKim, Mead and White--the latter being responsible for the row on the north side of 139th Street. Brown used the Georgian style as did Price and Luce, although theirs are less restrained, but Stanford White's row is Italianate (Fig.58), using a yellow elongated Roman brick, limestone and terra-cotta trim and a limited amount of ornamentation. King's Model Houses, or Striver's Row, as they are now known, were begun in 1891, and have landmark status dating from 1967.[18]

Striver's Row was intended for families of moderate incomes further from the centre of town. They are entered only four steps above pavement level so that the ground level is of

channelled masonry. Piano nobile level is emphasised by a dominant window down to floor level which opens onto a balcony and is flanked by two smaller windows and a rosette in the brickwork above. Internally the room is high, the full width of the house and with a dominant symmetrical arrangement of windows on the street wall. A small cornice divides this level from the two above which externally are plain and more typically of what is expected on the street elevations of row houses; internally individual bedrooms are arranged behind each window.

METROPOLITAN CLUB

David H. King who commissioned Striver's Row was also the builder of White's Metropolitan Club (Fig.32) at Sixtieth Street and Fifth Avenue, 1891-94. The narrow, five window wide elevation which faces Central Park has the general feeling of a wing of the Villard Houses: channelling, smooth ashlar and quoins above, balconies and bands sandwiching the piano nobile level and an attic of small windows which is almost a part of the elaborate crowning cornice, as elaborate as, but not directly based upon, Michelangelo's Farnese Palace, Rome. The building read as a Classic statement, domestically palatial and in scale with all the residential architecture, whether Romanesque, Queen Anne or High Victorian Gothic, built by the robber barons and which lined Central Park along its eastern boundary. It was constructed wholly in white marble as a status symbol, because only the very wealthy could afford to

join J.P. Morgan's exclusive club.

Plans of the Villard Houses group encircling a courtyard and of the Metropolitan Club where members' rooms form a perimeter around the central cortile provide similarities in arrangement of elements in addition to the organization of the fenestration and motifs of the facade. Internally this cortile occupies approximately a quarter of the plan and extends to the full height of the building, measuring 52x55x45 feet high, consisting of Pavonazza, Vermont and Skyros marbles, double grand staircase, fifteen feet wide of Numidian marble, a gold painted coffered ceiling, columns at balcony level and the Palladian window motif as the portico from the entrance hall. Across the court from the members' entrance was the separate ladies' wing accommodations partially designed in the Louis XV style and executed by Gilbert Guel of Paris and 510 Fifth Avenue. Members had access to lounges, library, exhibition room, dining and smoking facilities, billiard and card rooms, a bowling alley in the basement and a roof garden. William Kendall was White's architectural assistant on this particular commission [19] and Norcross Brothers provided most of the stonework.

RUSSELL AND ERWIN BUILDING

After the Villard Mansion, Joseph Wells was completely responsible for the Russell and Erwin Building (Fig.59), New Britain, Connecticut, a commercial building at ground level and hotel above, completed in 1885. In appearance, it was commercially

Sullivanesque, but also had the appearance of a Renaissance palazzo. It is five storeys high consisting of a two-storey base faced in stone and penetrated by five arches at ground level, the centre arch being the entrance to the hotel, and nine square headed windows at mezzanine level creating a shift of accent in the composition. This alternating rhythm leaps from stone to brick and across the separating entablature. The next two storeys carrying the rhythm of the mezzanine have windows encased in arches, the brick loadbearing piers terminating in red terra-cotta capitals and voussoirs. Above yet another entablature are the circular headed attic windows and again quite a large oversailing crowning cornice. There is almost a conflict between the horizontality of the palazzo composition and the vertical emphasis of the more vertical Wainwright Building, St. Louis, by Sullivan upon which the logic of the organization is ultimately based. In this respect it is clearly related to and a development of the American Safe Deposit Company Building.

NEW YORK LIFE INSURANCE BUILDING, KANSAS CITY

A further development of this theme is to be found at the New York Life Insurance Company Building, on the north-east corner of Ninth Street and Baltimore Avenue, Kansas City, Missouri (Fig.60), a collaborative effort completed in 1890 by White, Mead and Wells. It was won in a five firm limited competition consisting of George B. Post; Babb, Cook and Willard; A. Van Brunt; Howe and Van Brunt; and McKim, Mead and White. In

massing, the ten-storey load-bearing masonry structure is almost identical, although taller, to Burnham and Root's Board of Trade Building in Kansas City, the former being refined and Sullivanesque whereas the latter, earlier building is more boldly Romanesque.[20] It is also Richardsonian in the Marshall Field Wholesale Store sense, since the series of loadbearing arches as on the Aqueduct at Seville, Spain, encircle this H-shaped building on plan. Internally, however, as at Marshall Field, the structure consists of cast-iron columns supporting wrought iron beams channelled granite in the three storey base. The first three storeys of White's design had channelled granite with a dominant central arch of classical detailing, influenced perhaps by William Appleton Potter's modified Mullett design for the Sub-Treasury Building, Boston, 1868-72. Inside the arch were two monolithic polished columns of Worcester granite of the Roman Doric order, above which the name of the insurance company was carved into a brownstone lintol with the date MDCCCLXXXVIII. Above the central entrance stood a nine foot high eagle, wings outstretched to the extent of a twelve foot span, designed by Louis Saint-Gaudens. This younger brother of Augustus agreed to model and deliver three of these eagles, one for Kansas City and two others for New York Life Insurance Company Buildings in Omaha and St. Paul for a total of $4,500.[21] (Babb, Cook and Willard were the architects of the St. Paul building.) The vestibule of the building was rich in red Vermont marble on the floor and pink Tennessee for the walls. Beyond, the lobby had mosaics of a blue-pink hue laid by Antonio Rosa. Above the third floor cornice, locally

made pressed brick and terra-cotta trim replaced the granite, but the structural rhythm continued from the base through the shaft to the cap. Dominant arches tied fourth through seventh and eighth and ninth floors together, and small attic storey windows preceded the highly elaborate crowning cornice, above which the twelve storey central service tower for lift motor rooms and water storage tanks protruded.

William Rutherford Mead visited Kansas City in his role of administrator of the office during 1887 and 1889, and so too presumably did White, whose design dates from 1887. The building was essentially complete at a cost of two million dollars in 1890, the year in which Joseph Wells died of acute pneumonia at the age of thirty-seven.[22]

Charles Follen McKim felt that Wells should have been a partner of the firm and wrote White on December 7, 1889: "For my own part I would hail his accession as a partner with delight. In spite of his failings I feel more every day the obligation of the office to him. He must indeed, as you said tonight, feel the dependent position he occupies at his time of life. It seems to me that it would be only fair requital of his invaluable services to the office, and the esteem in which we all hold him, to place his name in some manner upon our paper. It would be <u>everything</u> to him. . . ."[23]

As in so many cases, archival source material is one-sided and there exists no reply from White. It could have been a verbal

response. There is the possibility that White was unresponsive to the idea, even though he was closer to Wells than McKim.[24] There is also the apocryphal tale that Wells, who was apparently always outspoken, replied when offered a partnership, that he could not "sign his name to so much damned bad work."[25]

Less than two months later on February 2, 1890, Wells was dead and his close friends were shocked. Even when Wells was ill George Fletcher "Badger" Babb wrote: "My Dear Stanford, I understand that Wells is very sick. . . . This destroys all my happiness and peace. . . . "[26] Cass Gilbert, who worked for McKim, Mead and White from September, 1880, and later became almost as famous as they, summed up the attitude of many in a letter of February 11, 1890:

> "My Dear Mr. White,
>
> "I have just heard with very deep sorrow, the sadness of Joe Wells' death. You can imagine the pain it has given me for I think you know what an affection and admiration I had for him . . . . I considered him one of my most intimate friends and his unselfish life--his attainments and his devotion to his art have for a long time been my own inspiration and my greatest encouragement. I have loved him almost as one of my brothers. . . ."[27]

McKim felt that there should be a permanent memorial to Wells and proposed, in a letter dated February 27, 1890, to the Trustees of the Boston Public Library, on which he was then engaged,

that a subscription of $25,000 should be raised for "The Wells Library of Architecture."

> "Mr. Wells has left certain books, photographs and drawings, which would form a valuable addition to the nucleus which you already possess. Should the wish of his friends (Saint-Gaudens, Dewing, Stratton, Maynard, Lathrop, McKim, Mead and White) meet with your approval, they offer upon the completion of the structural portions of the room, to take charge of its adornment, and by the addition of sculpture and painting to make it an appropriate receptacle for time to come."[28]

The name of Joseph Wells has continued to be associated with the firm of McKim, Mead and White and the second phase of the Renaissance Revival. When the Chancelleria, Rome, was destroyed by fire, the New York Herald Tribune, reporting the fact a week later on January 7, 1940, believing the palace to be the work of Bramante, referred to Bramante as Wells' god.[29] The Sullivanesque commercial style which Wells employed in the Russell and Erwin Building at New Britain, or utilized by White and Wells in Kansas City for the New York Life Insurance Company Building, was the style chosen by White for the Judge Building at Sixteenth Street and Fifth Avenue and the Cable Building (Fig.61) at Houston and Broadway, both completed in 1890.

GOELET BUILDING

This earlier building for the Goelets is transitional between the American Safe Deposit Company Building and the later Sullivanesque adaptations. This was White's first attempt to turn the corner of a city block by rounding off the corner of the building. The result in this first instance is clumsy, especially in his use of the stilted arch on the rounded corner springing from Ionic capitals atop rusticated columns. Only the three arches adjacent to the corner spring from two Ionic columns; the remainder spring from piers and encompass basement and three lower floors. Above this podium, vertical bands of enframed windows rise to an attic storey above which is the cornice. Even so the Sullivanesque base, shaft and cap carrying the eye vertically upward to the cornice and the loads down to the ground is again strongly evident.

Russell Sturgis in "Warehouse and Factory in Architecture," considered the Judge Building to be studied from Babb, Cook and Willard's Hanan Building, a dark red terra-cotta seven storey warehouse at Center and White Streets, New York.[30] It had arches for four storeys, square headed windows for the fifth and sixth and round headed arches at seventh and parapet level. It is also amazing how close the Judge and Hanan buildings are to the Appraiser's Store, 1892, still standing on Washington Street, by Willoughby J. Edbrooke, a Chicago architect who was Supervising-Architect of the Treasury Department from 1891 to 1893. Was this reverse influence of work of Chicago flavour

produced by New York offices having an effect upon the federal government's architect from Chicago?

JUDGE BUILDING

The Judge Building is a highly articulated piece of architecture "lifting it out of the factory warehouse group," according to Russell Sturgis.[31] It had large and small, segmental and round headed windows but the cornice lines at third, fifth and seventh floor levels and at the parapet were well gauged for effect, including the lion-headed gargoyles of the crowning cornice. The corner quoins, deeply etched into the stone and linking two facades around a slightly curved corner, were highly developed. Loadbearing masonry walls were obviously used in this bold composition, whereas the thin, skeletal appearance of the nine storey Cable Building of 1894 expresses a frame structure with the addition of quoins, arches, cornices, giant ten-storey -high pilasters and the crowning over-decorative cornice. The problem of turning the corner was solved by angling the corner bay at 135° to each facade.

Louis Sullivan's first skyscraper with a vertical emphasis by intent was the Wainwright Building, St. Louis, 1890-91. Admittedly earlier structures such as the Jane Building, Philadelphia, 1849-50, by William L. Johnston, a building opposite the office of Frank Furness where Sullivan was employed,[32] provided a vertical emphasis, but the Sullivan dictum of "form follows function," linked to the practical application of this

philosophy, has led many architectural historians to praise the Wainwright Building and designate it the first skyscraper. It is known that McKim, Mead and White "have tended to avoid rather than to seek opportunities to plan skyscrapers" according to Henry W. Desmond and Herbert Croly, but they obviously did not reject clients' requirements when offered such commissions.[33] It must also be remembered that Sullivan's was a Romantic philosophy and evolved from the Medieval Revival trends of the nineteenth century. Since a tall building had the same verticality as a Gothic cathedral, where ribs grew from clusters of columns as the branches of a tree in a forest, so too did Sullivan consider the need to emphasize vertical organic qualities. But Classical precepts also entered into Sullivan's philosophy of the tall building, which, like the column, had a base, shaft and capital.

White's attitude to a tall building was sometimes linked to Renaissance classicism where the horizontality of the cornices of a building related to the streetscape, providing directional lines of perspective common to the whole city. Cornices of palazzi along the radials in circular planned Renaissance cities led the eye along the street to the focal point of the town, the temple of God, as depicted in Francesco di Giorgio's panels "Veduta prospettica" at the Palazzo Ducale, Urbino.

Stanford White and his artist-architect friends were living in a period of Renaissance Revival, in a city not of the Medici, Rucellai, Pitti or Strozzi, but in the New World Florence of

New York, where Pierpont Morgan, Commodore Vanderbilt, John Jacob Astor and numerous other wealthy banker-robber-barons held sway. Manhattan was only just growing along the sides of Central Park, but the population then was just under one-and-one-half million, which is not so different today, the high point of over two million occurring in the teens of the twentieth century. Population has, however, moved from lower Manhattan and parts of midtown to the upper east and west sides, Harlem and upper Manhattan. White and his contemporaries were concerned with developments along the major avenues and on the new and fashionable streets in the east fifties, sixties and seventies. Whenever possible, White attempted to enhance the idea of streetscape, and thus the few tall buildings which he designed generally complemented the horizontality of the street in a classical manner with a Renaissance styled facade and crowning cornice.

NEW YORK LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY BUILDING, NEW YORK

The New York Life Insurance Company Building (Fig.63), twelve storeys high above basement, at 346 Broadway, Leonard and Catherine Streets, stressed the horizontality of cornice lines above that of the vertical window shafts terminating just below the crowning cornice in arches. The earlier New York Life Insurance Building of 1868 was by Stephen W. Hatch who died August 1, 1894. McKim, Mead and White's addition at the Broadway end of the block was constructed from 1894 to 1896, leading to the belief that the firm took over from Hatch. In actual

fact the Hatch practice was taken over by McCabe and Wilke, and McKim, Mead and White won a competition for the extension in 1893. Daniel H. Burnham of Chicago, George B. Post, Babb, Cook and Willard, and McKim, Mead and White were invited to compete. It is possible that the New York Life Insurance Company was trying to obtain cheap architectural services, cheaper at least than the five percent fee, based on the total cost of the building, which the company had been paying Hatch. A letter of May 13, 1893, from Hatch to the competitors suggested that all architectural firms concerned should agree not to accept less than five percent, to which they agreed. The result was a fair competition and presumably the best firm won, although Babb, Cook and Willard seem to have been given the consolation prize of designing the Company's offices at St. Paul, Minnesota.

Mead made a request to the company on June 23, 1893, for an extension to the competition "so that we might develop another scheme we had in view for the building. . . " and White wrote Mead on July 9, 1893:

> "Dear Dummy,
>
> "I cannot find my letter to the New York Life Insurance Company about the building. Of course it can be modified in some places that is. I should not say that design No.2 was more in accordance with modern views of building, I should leave it to them to decide that. . . ."[34]

Construction techniques developed by the Chicago School were

obviously well known to White and were used to best advantage when they proved to be necessary. In the New York Life Insurance Company Building, concrete piles and grillage foundations supported steel columns on cast iron bases, rolled steel beams and fireproof arches. Piling and grillage foundations had been developed in Chicago where land reclamation of Lake Michigan had made such recourse necessary. William Le Baron Jenny used steel in his Home Life Insurance Company Building in 1884-85, although the first all-steel, self-supporting structure was Burnham and Root's Rand McNally Building; White's Kansas City building of 1890, it should be remembered, was load bearing masonry. The tower facade on Broadway was of white Tuckahoe marble above a granite substructure, and pressed brick and terra-cotta were used along the Catherine Street side of the building. Two columns in antis of polished pink Milford Granite, twenty-three feet high, stood at the edge of a semi-circular vestibule of white Vermont and Pavonazza marble. From the vestibule two staircases led up to the main offices of the company, which again were in Pavonazza marble including the columns which had bronze capitals. Corridors generally were of marble and tile in geometric designs and with maple floors and trim of oak to match through to the existing building. Four hydraulic passenger elevators in addition to a freight elevator were provided in what was considered to be a fireproof building costing a total of about one-and-one-half million dollars. Philip Martiny was commissioned to provide eagle motifs for ceiling panels in the major areas and the external statuary on top of the tower. Ten American eagles, wings open behind them,

sat upon the balustrading and a kneeling male figure supporting a skeletal sphere containing a bell to strike the hours surmounted the clock tower.

White working in close association with Henry Bacon, then an assistant, was responsible for the Trustees boardroom, based upon the Throne Room at Richmond Palace, England, with Verdure hand made tapestries for the walls. When Cass Gilbert built the new head offices for the New York Life Insurance Company Building on the site of White's Madison Square Garden in 1928, the Trustees Room was moved there from the earlier building.

GORHAM AND TIFFANY BUILDINGS

Stanford White's two major commissions prior to his death in 1906 were on the Fifth Avenue scene, the Gorham Building (Fig.64) at Thirty-sixth Street and Tiffany's (Fig.65) at Thirty-seventh, and both at that time considered to be skyscrapers. Both had the horizontal Renaissance cornice lines, and although the former is six storeys high and the latter eight, they are in fact little higher than some structures in Renaissance Rome, as a perusal at Paul Letarouilly, Edifices de Rome Moderne, will illustrate. There is, for example, at plate XXXV of volume one, the "Maison Via Del Governo, Vecchio," a five storey structure, three of channeled masonry, the fourth of arched windows and Tuscan Doric columns and the fifth floor composed of square headed windows and Corinthian pilasters. The ground floor, as on the Fifth Avenue structures, was devoted to

shopping. Lawrence Grant White thought the Gorham Building "one" of the very finest designs ever produced by our firm." This comment was written in a letter of March 27, 1936, to Max Weinstein, president of Russek's which at that time took over the Gorham Building.[35]

Although the Gorham has base, shaft and cap, by now almost a trademark in New York City of McKim, Mead and White's commercial office structures, it has evolved differences. Limestone was utilized throughout although darker polished granite Ionic columns supporting an arcade divided the display areas of the ground and mezzanine levels. After a decorative cornice, came four of the six floors of rentable office space set behind plain unadorned windows in a smooth ashlar. An intermediate cornice terminated the smooth ashlar where began two floors behind an engaged colonnade of Corinthian columns, bronze grills between, and the whole capped by an eight foot overhanging upper modillion cornice. An interesting moulded treatment carried the building around the corner from Fifth Avenue to Thirty-sixth Street.

The Tiffany Building was inspired by Renaissance Venice, notably in the four upper floors set in two rows of arches alternating with Corinthian pilasters and columns between deep overhanging cornices. Palazzo Corner Della Ca' Grande, 1537-56, has a continuous, more three dimensional quality than Pietro Lombardo's Palazzo Vendramini of 1481. New York already had its earlier Venetian palace by John P. Gaynor, the Haughwout Store at

488-492 Broadway on the northeast corner of Broome Street. Gaynor's store is a monument to cast-iron architecture within the rich and varied area of Hell's Hundred Acres. To that extent White was continuing in the American tradition of the early nineteenth century as he had on so many other buildings. The base and cap of the Gorham provided two of the three levels of the Tiffany building the central level being similar to the cap so that the Sullivanesque shaft had been omitted. Each level consists of two floors providing an overscaled building with pairs of Corinthian pilasters or columns at each level and a grouping of pilasters and/or columns at the corners. One can only speculate why architecture from the Grand Canal at Venice was adapted to Fifth Avenue, New York, except that both were major thoroughfares in their respective cities. Venice was also a centre for jewellery, glass and precious objects and Tiffany was America's most famous jeweller and silversmith. Large areas of fenestration were also needed for ventilation in the palaces of Venice which did not generally have the cool courtyards of Florence. Large areas of fenestration were equally necessary for the display of valuable objects and thus another parallel could be made. The Tiffany Building should also stand as an innovative piece of structural engineering, if for no other reason than for its huge Guastavino vaulted roof branching out from a perimeter grid of columns, and punctured by a large oval skylight. This was illustrated for all to see in the Desmond and Croly article in the September, 1906, Architectural Record. Interiors in both buildings were lavish in materials and textures, the Gorham having shallow square

saucer vaults and a Pantheon space in the showroom of the second floor.

SHERRY'S HOTEL

Louis Sherry's Hotel at Fifth Avenue at Forty-fourth Street can to a certain extent be categorized with the Gorham and Tiffany Buildings. It is classified as a skyscraper, but has a tall base incorporating a mezzanine, shaft but with horizontal emphasis in the cornices at each floor level, alternately heavy and light, and a large cornice. Masonry for the full height of the building is rusticated. Two-thirds of the hotel accommodation was scheduled for bachelor apartments providing almost a captive clientele for the elaborate dining facilities in addition to the Louis XV ballroom and other interiors suggesting a high level of affluence.

PULITZER HOUSE

A residence which should be discussed with the Tiffany Building because of stylistic similarities is the Joseph Pulitzer house at 7 East Seventy-third Street (Fig.66). Basically three storeys high with attic behind balustraded parapet, and basement, it is a scaled-down version of the six storey Tiffany Building, where each pair of floors were divided by cornices. Whereas the Tiffany Building was situated on one of the major arteries of New York City and therefore had to be a dominant and imposing building, the Pulitzer house was on one of the

cross-town streets and had to be domestic in scale, even though larger than its neighbours; the scale is approximately half of that of the Tiffany Building. Pulitzer as well as being eccentric required White to provide not drawings of the house but plaster models, possibly because he was going blind. The strongly sculpturesque qualities of Venetian Renaissance buildings would have provided sufficient modelling for Pulitzer to feel and handle and this could have been White's reason for choosing that style. Column groupings were as varied as in Venice but balustraded cornice lines remained unbroken except to emphasize the entrance, and sculpture decorations are absent. It is thus a restful composition on one of the rather narrow Upper East Side streets. Between the rusticated columns of the limestone facade the vestibule leads into a double height stair hall with an organ behind a delicate wood screen. Marble and stone were generously used although many of the rooms were in "the dark oak style" including the library, built to house 10,000 volumes. Occasionally smaller rooms were decorated otherwise, as the Adam styled small salon, and the breakfast room which vies with Sir John Soane's at Lincoln's Inn Field, London, for intimate spatial form and light. This unassuming house also incorporates a squash court and swimming pool 11x29 feet and seven feet, nine inches at the deepest end.

Inspiration for the Century Club, 7 West Forty-third Street (Fig.67) was "suggested by sixteenth century Italian palace fronts, those of Verona being called to mind especially by the very high basement. . . . " wrote Russell Sturgis in the May 1895

Architectural Record. "The cornice and parapet are perfectly well proportioned to each other and to the front."[36] In fact, elements were taken from north Italian Renaissance palazzi generally so that even the rich use of terra-cotta reflected the indigenous qualities of north Italian architecture. White wrote a description prior to construction to announce that it would be built of granite, marble and an amber-coloured terra-cotta brick. Rusticated limestone was utilized at the ground floor with brickwork and terra-cotta above. White did not describe it as Veronese but merely Renaissance, and since from the street it is a two-level (four storey) building it could again have been based on Letarouilly, and possibly an inner courtyard facade, such as the one in the Palais di Firenze via de Prefetti, Rome, at Plate 318.[37] Qualities of Verona architecture as discussed above also apply to White's Harmonie Club, 4 East Sixtieth Street, completed in 1907, and situated across the street from his Metropolitan Club. Use of materials and organization of parts are the same as the Colony Club except that the site is narrower and the building taller so that the proportions seem awkward.

One composition more directly derived from Verona was the Herald Building (Fig.68) for James Gordon Bennett, based upon the Consiglio Palace, 1476-92. Bennett wanted to move the Herald from Park Row in Lower Manhattan to a more centralised position in the centre of the then theatre district on a trapezoid site at Thirty-fourth and Thirty-fifth Streets, Broadway and Sixth Avenue. The New York World had relocated

in a skyscraper, so Bennett decided that he wanted a Doge's Palace for the Herald. Since there were several Ruskinian buildings around based upon this Venetian model, White persuaded Bennett toward the Consiglio Palace, Verona. He arranged the complexities of the plan accordingly because the office accommodation of a newspaper organization will fit better into the repetitive floors of a highrise building than into two extensive levels with the presses in the basement. The Consiglio Palace was also a facade facing on to Piazza dei Signori whereas the Herald was a foursquare trapezoid. White therefore adapted certain features of the Consiglio but with ground level arcading following more the pattern of Brunelleschi's Foundling Hospital, Florence, strengthening his corners with pilasters at both levels. He utilized the corbel Corinthian capital to link the two floors together as on the Consiglio and translated the painted arabesque into light yellow terra-cotta reliefs. Above the entrance of the New York Herald Building were two balancing panels between windows. One panel contained a clock face and the other a wind dial. Twenty-six owls, the corner ones with outstretched wings, sat on the roof, and facing onto Herald Square and the surrounding streets, Antonin Carles had designed a Minerva and Bell Ringers group. The entrance at the ground floor was between small red Corinthian columns and thereafter the scale changed, where internal columns became as large as the external Corinthian pilasters. Internal columns were in a veined marble and had gold-coloured capitals, probably of brass. Stairs with brass balustrade led up to the second floor where Bennett's office

was situated directly above the entrance. Counting rooms on either side of the stairs at ground level were divided from the vestibule by a veined marble dado and a screen of brass spindles and miniature Ionic columns; doors through the screen were also of brass.[38]

The Renaissance which began in Florence and spread to Milan, Venice, Verona, Naples, and Rome, went beyond national boundaries in the sixteenth century to France, Britain, eastern Europe, and to Spain, where the upper portion of the minaret to the Seville mosque, later the Cathedral, was built in 1568, the whole known as the "Giralda." The Giralda at Seville was White's inspiration for yet another phase of Renaissance influence, this time Spanish, for his Madison Square Garden (Fig.69) at Seventh Avenue and Twenty-sixth Street at the northeast corner of Madison Square. It had been the site of the Union Railroad Station of 1857, abandoned in 1871. Begun in July 1889, and formally opened eleven months later on June 16, 1890, it contained within its walls on one city block a theatre, exhibition hall, arena measuring 125x265 feet to seat 11,000, race track, ballroom and a stable for 400 horses in the basement. Money for the project was raised by P.T. Barnum, J. Pierpont Morgan and Darius Mills and the general contractor for this one-and-one-half-million-dollar-plus entertainment centre was David H. King.[39] White had apparently won the commission in a competition judged by William R. Ware, the dean of architecture at Columbia, and the total fee for the firm amounted to $75,000.[40] Terra-cotta was used extensively from the arcaded

ground level up to the roof garden and thence on the slightly simplified 341-foot-high tower. Buff coloured bricks must have silhouetted the white Pompeiian terra-cotta rather well and gave a festive atmosphere to this entertainment centre, but Sturgis criticised the thickly spreading ornamentation extending to two-fifths of the facades, which seriously disfigured the building. It was "well modelled. But how badly it is put together," was his comment--meaning that he disapproved of the composition.[41] It was physically put together rather well, as an article entitled "A Thirty-Five Year's Test of Materials,"[42] in the December 20, 1925 American Architect, tried to show. The terra-cotta had been made with thicker than usual webs and the voids solidly filled with brick and mortar. Wrought iron pipes had been introduced to reinforce the columns and tourelles had not rusted. The whole building had been constructed on a concrete mat without reinforcings and the walls of the tower which housed, among other things, a twenty-five person elevator, were 3'6" thick. Baldwin quotes the Herald as having stated that "there is probably not in the whole world a handsomer building, nor any more exquisitely proportioned."[43] McKim's biographer Moore reports William M. Kendall as having told him "that when White suddenly went to Europe, leaving McKim to finish the Madison Square Garden drawings, McKim attempted to change to a classical design, but quickly gave up the idea because he found White's conception so much better. Among all of White's admirers, McKim must be counted the first."[44] Saint-Gaudens enhanced the appearance of the apex of the building with an eighteen-foot-high "Diana" which was hoisted

into position on November 1, 1890, only to be replaced by another, more in scale at thirteen feet, on November 18, 1893. During the first year, the company which financed the Garden lost $18,000 and the second year $16,000 and throughout its life, the lack of tenants, high maintenance, repair and hiring costs plus taxes, led a non-altruistic group of businessmen to decide upon its demolition.[45] Razed it was, in 1925. Fiske Kimbal, the architect of New York University, tried to persuade the Chancellor to have at least the tower re-erected at the Bronx campus, but the cost of demolition, removal and re-erection was estimated at $35,000 and the University was already running at a deficit.[46] After the site had been leveled, Cass Gilbert built his New York Life Insurance Office Building, and at one point even considered incorporating the Diana into a lofty entrance foyer, but it was decided that a statue designed for the top of a high building would be out of place nearer the ground, so the scheme was abandoned. Diana eventually found her way to the Philadelphia Museum of Art.[47] White's room for the Trustees in his New York Life Building on Broadway was transferred to Gilbert's new skyscraper.

All buildings thus far discussed in this chapter can in some manner or other be classified as Second Renaissance Revival style of the nineteenth century. This can also be claimed for the Freundshaft Club at Park and Seventy-third Street, 1889. It was four storeys high and had a free arrangement of Renaissance elements, but it went beyond a specific historic precedent. It rather captured the spirit of a Renaissance palazzo, using

details including a high, wide overhanging cornice, but in toto non-derivative. Russell Sturgis felt it to be an "unclassable modern design. . . devoid of decided character. . . meritorious /in being/ unpretentious. It is too full of windows (too many for such a major traffic intersection). But the proportions of its walls taken vertically are peculiarly good. There is not a building in town in which that difficult problem has been solved in a better way."[48]

White relied upon historical precedent, could be eclectic with a variety of motifs, but could also be original and fresh, creating a variation upon a Renaissance theme.

FOOTNOTES

1. Elmer Elsworth Brown, Thomas Hastings and Royal Cortissoz, Memorial Meeting in Honour of the Late Stanford White, New York, 1921, 15p.

2. Withey, H.F. and E.R., Biographical Dictionary of American Architects (Deceased), Los Angeles, 1956, p.643.

3. McKim's sister Lucy had married the son of William Lloyd Garrison. Garrison's daughter was married to Henry Villard.

4. Moore, McKim, p.48.

5. H.R. Hitchcock, The Architecture of H.H. Richardson and His Times, Cambridge, Mass., 1970, p.163.

6. Ibid., p.296.

7. Ibid., p.297.

8. Quoted by C. Howard Walker, "Joseph Wells, Architect, 1853-1890," Architectural Record 66 (July 1929): 14-18, p.18.

9. NYHS MSS, Stanford White Collection, sixteen handwritten pages of biographical information supplied by Royal Cortissoz on 23 April 1890, at the request of White. The American Safe Deposit Company building was commissioned by Elliott Fitch Shepard, a lawyer, journalist and former colonel and aide-de-camp to General Edwin Denison Morgan, Governor of New York, who knew White's father and who commissioned White and Saint-Gaudens to design a mausoleum at Hartford, Connecticut, in 1881. The firm was later to design residences for the Morgans at Newport and Wheatley Hills, Long Island, and the Mrs. W.H. Vanderbilt mansion, New York, for the mother of Elliott Shepard's wife Louisa.

10. NYHS M&P, Scrapbook in which a drawing of the American Safe Deposit Company Building was pasted, from which the description was taken.

11. White contributed the design and specifications at the instigation of R.W. Gilder, his friend and editor of the Century Magazine.

12. See footnote No.8 above.

13. NYHS MSS, Stanford White Collection, from letters quoted in full in Charles Baldwin's Stanford White, pp.364-67.

14. Thomas Hastings and Carrere having joined the McKim, Mead and White office in October 1883, later practiced as Carrere and Hastings.

15. NYHS M&P, Album.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid.

18. See McCandlish Phillips, "City Seeks a Way to Save Harlem Enclave," New York Times, 30 March 1972, Section L, p.39; and an advertising brochure, The King Model Dwellings, 1891, 23p.

19. NYHS M&P, Metropolitan Club, Boxes 79 and 83.

20. See Frank Maynard Howe, "Architecture in Kansas City," Architectural Record 15 (February 1904): 134-57.

21. NYHS M&P, New York Life Insurance Company, Kansas City file, M-8, letter from Louis Saint-Gaudens, 15 October 1880.

22. He was unmarried and lived at the Benedict Apartment House on Washington Square. Music was his major recreational pursuit and he helped organize the Sunday afternoon string quartet concerts by members of the Theodor Thomas orchestra, at Saint-Gaudens' Thirty-sixth Street studio and the Quartet Club at the Art Students' League. He was an amateur ornithologist and shared this interest with Abbot H. Thayer, Thomas W. Dewing and George Maynard, all painters. He belonged to the Players Club as did White and Saint-Gaudens but was generally "shy, intense and introspective." See C. Howard Walker, "Joseph Wells, Architect, 1853-1890," Architectural Record 66 (July 1929): 14-18.

23. Moore, McKim, p.48; Baldwin, White, p.359.

24. It should be remembered that another sixteen years lapsed before the partnership was extended to William M. Kendall in 1906 (he joined the office in October 1882, twenty-four years earlier), William Symmes Richardson (June 1895), Burt L. Fenner (August 1891), T.J. Van Der Bent (August 1887), and Daniel T. Webster (October 1894).

25. Baldwin, White, p.359.

26. NYHS MSS, Babb file.

27. NYHS MSS, Gilbert file.

28. NYHS M&P, Miscellaneous file M-3.

29. Ibid.

30. Architectural Record 15 (January 1904): 1-17.

31. Ibid.

32. See Winston Weisman, "Philadelphia, Functionalism and Sullivan," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 20 (March 1961): 3-19.

33. Desmond and Croly, "The Work of Messrs. McKim, Mead and White, Architectural Record 20 (September 1906): 153-246.

34. NYHS M&P, New York Life Insurance Company file M-8 and Boxes 115-123.

35. NYHS M&P, Gorham Building file M-16.

36. Russell Sturgis, "McKim, Mead and White," Architectural Record 4 (May 1895 supplement): 3,6.

37. NYHS M&P, Century Club file 299.

38. NYHS M&P, Herald Building file M-20.

39. "Madison Square Garden," American Architect 128 (20 December 1925): 513-18.

40. Baldwin, White, p.200.

41. As footnote 36, p.15.

42. American Architect 128 (20 December 1925): 513-18. It has often been suggested that White was innovative in the introduction of terra-cotta, but it was widely used in Britain as discussed in the article by Margaret Henderson Floyd, "A Terra-Cotta Cornerstone for Copley Square: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: 1870-76, by Sturgis and Brigham," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 37 (May 1973): 83-103. Her doctoral dissertation, 1974, at Boston University was called "A Terra Cotta Cornerstone for Copley Square: An Assessment of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, by Sturgis and Brigham (1870-1876) in the Context of its English Technological and Stylistic Origins."

43. Baldwin, White, p.200.

44. Moore, McKim, p.56.

45. Baldwin, White, p.200.

46. NYHS M&P, Madison Square Garden file No.435.

47. New York Times, Sunday 10 May 1925, Picture Section 5.

48. Russell Sturgis, "McKim, Mead and White," Architectural Record 4 (May 1895 supplement): 65.

CHAPTER FOUR

FRENCH AND BRITISH SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURY REVIVALS

If Harbor Hill, Roslyn, L.I., 1899-1906, were White's only deviation into the styles of French Renaissance architecture, the anomaly could be blamed on Katherine and Clarence Mackay, but White designed two other structures inspired by French architecture, although of the eighteenth century phase, a period in France comparable to Adam in Britain or the Federal architects of America. The tennis court and pool pavilion at "Ferncliff," (Fig.33) the country residence of John Jacob Astor at Rhinebeck, New York, 1898, and "Rosecliff," (Fig.34) the Mrs. Herman Oelrichs residence, Newport, 1902, could both have been uprooted from eighteenth century Versailles, and both have similar floor plans to "Harbor Hill"--a grand central gathering point with winged accommodations. Just as the aristocracy of the United States were appreciating and purchasing works of art, antiques, and employing landscape architects for the layout of their mansions, so they also had a desire to excel in sports. Popularity of resorts such as Newport, the growth of yacht, racquet, tennis, polo and even cricket clubs, for which McKim, Mead and White and their generation of architects were kept busy in building, was part of this syndrome. Astor's sports pavilion, a house in a park setting, a Petit Trianon, was part of this mystique. The site sloped quite steeply so that from the entrance front it appeared as a single storey structure, but it housed a tennis court (Guastavino

vaulted), two squash courts, a swimming pool, again vaulted and as bright and airy as Luciano Laurana's fifteenth century Palazzo Ducale at Urbino, Italy, dressing rooms, hot rooms, showers for men and women, in addition to living accommodation for guests: which included five bedrooms and living area.

French influence was abundantly obvious in external and internal decoration and fenestration at the Oelrichs residence. Joseph Mangin and John McComb, designers of the New York City Hall in 1811, would have been proud of the grand staircase in the Oelrichs house, which was similar to their staircase in the City Hall. Mangin was French, and had studied under Jacques Jules Gabriel in France so that the semi-Georgian-French City Hall does have affinities with this work by White. Entry into the residence was from the end of one of the wings into the stair hall. A salon balanced the vestibule, and on the other side of the largest ballroom in Newport, at the other two corners, were dining and billiard rooms. Upstairs were six bedrooms in what, from the exterior, appeared to be an attic storey of small windows, above the arcaded windows between pairs of Ionic columns of the ground level; a third floor for servants is almost completely hidden from view.

It could be argued that White used various elements and general massing of French Medieval Norman architecture in some of his early work, as the Charles Tiffany mansion, but generally French architecture did not inspire architects of the post-General Grant or French Second Empire period. McKim, for

example, despised the work of Alfred Bult Mullett (1834-90), Supervising Architect of the Treasury Department, 1865-1874, who designed the State War and Navy Building, 1871-87 (now the Executive Office Building) in Washington, the New York City Post Office, 1869-75 (demolished c.1938), which stood at City Hall Park, and numerous other effervescently French styled classical buildings. A new era of a purer classicism had begun at Chicago in 1893 and was, according to McKim and his ilk, to become an outstanding phase of American architecture.

White did, however, return to the early bold Tiffany mansion French Medieval chateau style in his unsuccessful competition entry for the Grand Central Station, 1904 (illustrated opposite p.338 in Baldwin). At least the massiveness of the structure and pyramidal roofs dominating the tiny repetitive windows gives a general French Medieval appearance, although it could be suggested that the tower was Halicarnasian!

Another reversion was the mansion at 666 Fifth Avenue (Fig.83), 1905, for Mrs. William K. Vanderbilt, Jr., next to Richard Morris Hunt's Vanderbilt Mansion at number 660. Undoubtedly the clients wanted nothing more than an extension to a family dwelling both in additional accommodations and François I^{er} style, which White competently provided. He could actually have instigated the idea for the sake of unity.

The Renaissance in Europe spread from Italy through France to Britain and thence to the Colonies. It will thus be logical to

consider White's English-inspired structures before discussing those few of the Colonial Revival with which he was involved: there are as few English-Colonial inspired structures as those of French derivation.

Inigo Jones is considered the father of British architecture and Christopher Wren his most notable son. From this period of English Stuart architecture White sought stylistic qualities for only one of his residences, that for Mrs. Elliott F. Shepard (Fig.84) at Scarborough, New York, 1890-92.[1] It is a three storey brick structure with stone quoins, Ionic colonnade, window surrounds and crowning cornice. Pedimented pavilions dominate each corner of the house and on the narrow-ended front facade above the entrance porch. It is too huge to be of Colonial derivation and, at first glance, of British source. But on closer examination, one finds it is the sort of residence which Sir Edwin Lutyens might have constructed at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth century in Britain based upon Wrenaissance precedents. The Shepard residence is of about the same scale and size of Lutyen's Great Maytham, Kent, 1910, and has a similar quality to The Salutation, Sandwich, Kent, 1912, or even the street facade of the Country Life building, Tavistock Street, Covent Garden, London, of 1904. Even so, there are few seventeenth century residences of this scale, constructed of brick. Seventeenth century palaces may have been as spacious as the Shepard residence, but would almost certainly have been built of stone or a stucco imitation of stone. Only two buildings

seem to be as massive and bulky as the Shepard residence--Tyttenhanger Hall, Hertfordshire, 1654, or Ham House, Surrey, for the Duke of Lauderdale, which dates from before 1672. Landscaping at Scarborough was by White, where he again combined the formal in the vicinity of the classical house, with the informality of the park which included picturesque A.J. Downing type houses for gardeners and the like. Driveways, stepped terraces, balustraded walkways, round points and loggias acted as formal transitional elements to the massing of the trees in the more natural countryside.

Robert K. Root's house at Delaware Avenue on the southwest corner of North Street, Buffalo, also of 1895, was an essay in Wrenian seventeenth century design. General massing, truncated gable ends, bold modillion cornice, fine brickwork, refined sash windows including a Palladian window and circular end loggia, enhance the unsupported wide overhanging canopy to the main entrance.

A year earlier in 1894, White had turned from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century in his Robert W. Patterson house, Chicago--a tall four storey house upon a basement (lighted from just above pavement level) and attic, behind a balustraded bold modillion cornice. The low Tuscan Doric portico entrance extended upward to an Ionic piano nobile balcony. All decoration of cornices and window surround was refined and Adamesque, and so too was the Roman brick above an ashlar base which extended up to second floor level.

The Thomas Nelson Page House (Fig.85), 1759 R. Street, on the corner of New Hampshire Avenue, Washington, D.C., 1896-97, was even simpler--consisting of plain brick walls above the first floor level of channeled brick. Quoins were also in brick and tall second floor windows were set into brick arches. The only relieving features were slender iron balconies at second and third floor levels, immediately above the Ionic portico entrance, behind which stood an Adam door, side lights and fanlight. The house stood on an irregular site, the two street facades at an oblique angle, but the planning of the rooms at various floor levels was competently handled, stairs, fireplaces and corridors tying together rooms at varying angles.

Another house in this style was designed as late as 1902 by White, the Benjamin W. Arnold House at 465 State Street, Albany, completed in 1905. Again it was English Georgian, in red brick and marble dressings and with two bows in the facade on either side of an Ionic portico. Inside, the Colonial style prevailed at least in the hall, where the colour scheme was silver grey and white, although the living room was Jacobean and the dining room panelled in mahogany.

Brick blank arcades, used in the Page house as a rhythmic pattern relieving the monotony of a Federal brick facade, had an excellent precedent in the eighteenth century Nathaniel Russell house, Charleston, South Carolina. White again used this motif on the main floor of the Colony Club (Fig.86), 120 Madison Avenue, New York, completed in 1906. Special "Harvard"

brick was used, and as on Trinity Church at Roslyn of the same period, but of a different style, only headers were exposed in uncoursed brickwork--an odd non-structural expression. A tenuously thin colonnade of cast-iron columns of Pompeiian proportions protected the stoop. Today a suggestion of this colonnade has been applied to the facade in the form of pilasters instead of the original Corinthian colonnade, removed during street widening.

Six original Georgian and Adam mantels were purchased for the interior rooms and chandeliers, carpets and furnishings were purchased to match, but the modern amenities of a club were also part of the scene, Russian and Turkish baths, dressing rooms and swimming pool were provided in the basement. The pool measured a generous 20x55 feet, was finished in white marble jointed with Pompeiian cement and designed in the character of arbors at Capri or Sorrento. A gymnasium, running track, theatre, and two squash courts at the fourth floor were incorporated into the building as well as the usual reception, assembly, lecture and dining rooms. By comparison, the Lambs Club at 128 West Forty-fourth Street, 1904, was Colonial but elaborately so. The street facade was narrower and the second floor more open in a Venetian palazzo manner. Lambs heads, quoin stones, cornice balustrade and other decorations, raised it out of the starkly simple style of the Colony Club.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY MEDICAL COLLEGE, NEW YORK CITY

White's own description of his eighteenth century-inspired Cornell University Medical College (Fig.87) on First Avenue at Twenty-eighth Street, New York, 1898-1900, dated September 9, 1898, was that "It is designed in a severe style of renaissance architecture and will be built of Joliet or Indiana limestone and red brick"--limestone for the channeled first floor and all classical detailing and trimmings.

> "Two pedimented bays /not pedimented in the final scheme but with an entablature/ with engaged columns running through two storeys, serve to mark the two entrances, one to the main building and the other to the Dispensary.
>
> "The interior of the building, will be simple and severe in character, but the materials used will be those specifically fitted to the purposes of a Medical College, glazed brick and tile predominating in the finish of the different rooms.
>
> "The building will be thoroughly fireproof, the most improved and scientific method of heating, lighting and ventilating being employed, it being the desire of the donor that the College will have the most thoroughly scientifically equipped building for its purpose in existence."[2]

The idea of a medical college in New York City, attached to Cornell University at Ithaca, New York, was that "In Andrew D. White's concept of an ideal university, a medical school had been an essential unit," according to Morris Bishop, whose A History of Cornell[3] was published in Ithaca in 1962. President Andrew Dickson White's concept was in keeping with founder Ezra Cornell's statement, now the university motto, "I would found an institution where any person can find instruction in any study." A New York-based school evolved because the faculty of the Medical College of New York University and the Executive Committee of that institution were in serious disagreement, leading to a resignation of the faculty and a withdrawal of private financial backing by Colonel Oliver H. Payne, the wealthy son of the founder of Standard Oil. The faculty, led by Lewis A. Stimson and H.P. Loomis, the son of Alfred Loomis who cured Colonel Payne of a dangerous illness, who also married the daughter of Stimson, considered Yale, Dartmouth and Princeton as institutions likely to provide a connecting link between a university and the medical college. They finally chose Cornell and in 1898 the College was established with Dr. William M. Polk as Dean. Two years later the Medical College moved into their permanent new home, designed to accommodate theatres, laboratories, and dissecting rooms, patients' rooms, examination rooms and offices at a cost of one million dollars, in addition to one-and-one-half million for equipment--all contributed by Colonel Payne.

THE ORCHARD

Discussing Stanford White's stylistic development in a chronological manner now leads us from a college building back to residential architecture of a rural nature, in the home of James L. Breese (Fig.88) at Southampton, Long Island, 1906, known as "The Orchard." This was Colonial, but extensively and excessively so, with classical Adamesque detailing, and very similar to McKim's E.D. Morgan estate at Wheatley Hills, Long Island, 1891 and 1900. The central portion of "The Orchard," consisting of central hall, drawing room and library, mimicked Washington's "Mount Vernon" except that the two storey portico facing the Potomac became the entrance portico at Southampton. A corridor, including a central bowed-out staircase with Palladian window extended along the rear of the central portion to conservatories on either side. On one side was a music room, as large as the central portion balanced on the other side by dining room, kitchen, buttery and servants' quarters and all three wings each as large as Mount Vernon. The house with all its wings and additions was sufficiently surrounded by foliage, large trees and shrubs, that at no one point can one see any portion larger than Mount Vernon even though the whole complex must be at least five times the size of Washington's main house. White was thus able to design an extensive complex for the scale of entertainment at the end of the nineteenth century but incorporated an intimacy in the scheme which reduced each part to the scale of a Colonial dwelling. Low slung and all of wood, with a strong horizontal emphasis, the house had a formal

garden at the rear and a wealth of antiques internally. An organ was installed in the music room, Italian marble fireplaces elsewhere, a gilt ceiling for a studio, curly pine floors for the billiard room, and Magna Carta shields for casement and bay windows, in addition to furniture, rugs, tapestries, chandeliers, paintings and sculpture.

It is not surprising that after it was illustrated in Country Life in America, October, 1906, requests came into the office for similar residences. A lawyer from Winnfield, Louisiana, Harry P. Gable, wrote for sketch floor plans with the possibility of building a similar spread. Another lawyer, Thomas A. Bekebile of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, made a like request, both in 1907. When again Country Life devoted part of the March, 1923, issue to illustrating "The Orchard," W.A. Stuart, a lumberman of Lawrence, Kansas, wrote to the firm only to receive a refusal from Lawrence Grant White.[5] What made the house so appealing is that like so much Colonial architecture it was all of wood, except chimneys, and although extensive in accommodations, it was situated in a well-wooded landscape and consisted of wings off wings, so that at any one spot only a limited portion of the building could be seen.

In "The Orchard," White was so exceptionally successful that one could logically ask why he utilized the Colonial style for a large hotel at Garden City (Fig.89), Long Island, 1896, for William B. Stewart. It stood until 1973 and was five storeys high, including two levels in the roof, above a basement. It

could easily be seen in totality at a glance and was at least five times as large as any single structure built prior to 1776. Even its huge Independence Hall-type tower is dwarfed by the scale of the hotel accommodation, whereas the Independence Hall tower in its correct context is the dominant feature.

The reason can be discovered partly in the Cornell Medical College Building where numerous small rooms were situated around its perimeter. A hotel of approximately 150 bedrooms and baths plus all the ancilliary accommodations had to have numerous small windows of a domestic scale; a bedroom in a hotel is about the same size as a bedroom in a Colonial house. The Colonial style enlarged beyond any eighteenth century building was a style which would allow for so many repetitive elements. Wings extending vertically could be constructed three storeys in height plus basement and two levels in the roof and not appear dull or monotonous. This Colonial scale incorporating so many intimate elements such as pedimented dormers, Palladian windows in gable ends, Doric and Ionic colonnades, balustrades, urns, quoins and oval windows created a varied building of refined delicacy but of quite extensive dimensions and this is undoubtedly why the style was chosen in this particular instance.

White was far more at home working in the correct scale of Colonial architecture which was always domestic in feeling even for public buildings. He was most successful working on an original historic building, which is where the Colonial Revival began for McKim in the 1870's restoration of Colonial structures

in Newport. White had one commission of this kind, for the Church of Christ (Fig.90) at Hanover, New Hampshire, on the north side of the green at Dartmouth College, built in 1790. The church had been altered on numerous occasions during the nineteenth century, and in 1899 White was commissioned by Hiram Hitchcock to remodel the interior as a memorial to his wife Mary Maynard Hitchcock. White removed two of the three windows on either side of the tower of the front facade for aesthetic reasons and internally, decorated the totally plain pulpit wall. On this plain north wall, White took the triple arch motif of the Romanesque church facade of St. Gilles du Gard, France, simplified the elements as Robert Adam might have done, used Tuscan Doric pilasters on pedestals as high as the rostrum and two Ionic columns for the central arch without tympanum for the pulpit. The two subsidiary arches had an infill panel in lieu of tympanum, one side acting as a robing room for the minister and the other as space for the organ. White's solution was simple, straightforward, not too expensive, and yet created a pleasing aesthetic answer in a very original manner of a rather old, adapted Richardsonian idea.

FOOTNOTES

1. Baldwin attributes the Shepard residence to White, and Leland Roth attributes it to Mead.

2. NYHS M&P, Cornell University Medical College boxes 218 and 219. This description, intended for the college catalogue was included in a letter from White dated 9 September 1898.

3. Op.cit., p.318 for this quotation and pp.317-21 for subsequent information.

4. NYHS M&P, Cornell University Medical College box 219, letter to Mead, 11 November 1901.

5. All above information from NYHS M&P, Breese box 570.

CHAPTER FIVE

REVIVAL OF NEO-CLASSICISM

Neo Classicism as practiced at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century by Sir John Soane in England, Etienne-Louis Boullée or Claude-Nicholas Ledoux in France, Karl Friedrich Schinkel in Germany or Benjamin Henry Latrobe in the United States has provided inspiration to the "rationalists" of the modern movement. Stanford White, usually reviled by the rationalists, also appreciated the qualities of the Neo Classicists and their preference for the Greek Style, notably as expounded by Latrobe. Earlier than Latrobe, however, was Thomas Jefferson, an outstanding architect and universalist, who forwarded the short-lived classical Roman revival style.

White could combine Greek form with Roman space as well as any, and did so in a whole range of structures beginning in the early 1890's with Prospect Park, Brooklyn, established in 1866 to designs by Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux. The main entrance to the Park is from Grand Army Plaza dominated by John H. Duncan's Soldiers and Sailors Memorial Arch, with Quadriga on top, and representations of Army and Navy on the south side by Frederick MacMonnies; inside the arch are reliefs of Lincoln and Grant by W.R. O'Donovan and Thomas Eakins. White's four decorative fifty-foot-high Doric columns supporting eagles on globes by MacMonnies and two ten-sided granite Tuscan Doric pavilions on either side form a screen to the

entrance (Figs.123, 124).[1]

Guastavino provided the green enamelled tile for the internal domes of these two shelters. Beyond is the standing sculpture by MacMonnies, on a pedestal by White of James Stranahan who spent a quarter of a century founding the park. Each of the entrances to the park were designed by White, with the exception of the southwest Parkside Circle completed after his death. MacMonnie's identically mirrored "Horse Tamers" (Fig.125) of two rearing Baroque horses held by a trainer stand on bases by White at the Park Circle Entrance, where White again provided square pavilions with piers at the corners, two Ionic columns on each side and a coffered ceiling with rosettes (Fig.31). A. Phimister Proctor was commissioned in 1895 for two panthers to be placed on tall pedestals at the Park West and Third Street entrance (Fig.119). Ocean and Parkside received its classic porticoes and redwood trellises in 1904 and the Croquet Shelter came in 1906 (Figs.91,92). This shelter, like the Ionic pavilions at Park Circle, has piers at the corners, nine Corinthian columns along the sides and at either end. It was restored in 1966-67 so that the white terra-cotta Corinthian capitals, architrave, frieze and balustrade appear as clean as new. Guastavino again provided the roof structure, segmental tile arches and vault, and the pavement is in red brick with rectangular insets of brown marble.[2] White also designed the shelter and arbor for the Rose Garden, the base for the Mozart bust and the Corinthian column supporting a ball for the Committee of the Maryland Society of the Sons of the American

Revolution. After the Park came New York University.

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

Thomas Jefferson, a noted early architect of the young American Republic, was a likely influence on White when he rebuilt the Rotunda on the University of Virginia campus in 1898, and the common source for this and the library on the Bronx campus of New York University begun in 1893, was Hadrian's Pantheon, Rome, of the second century A.D. (Figs.93-95). It would seem reasonable that White was originally inspired by Jefferson, a man whom he admired as an architect. White began his Jeffersonianisms in the Bronx and later became the logical choice as the restorer at Charlottesville, five years after the disastrous fire of the Rotunda. White must surely have seen Jefferson's library on his way south on vacations with his wife, or perhaps made a special pilgrimage while considering his design for New York University.

Chancellor MacCracken of New York University wrote on September 2, 1892,

> "It looks as if the University might very soon proceed with its architectural plans. I was told. . . that you were inclined. . . to give, in honor of your father's name some architectural service. . . in connection with Washington Square."[3]

Apparently White made a general plan, a recreational space, a

science block and ten storey building on Washington Square. Only two months later, on December 29, 1892, MacCracken was asking for a bird's eye view of the University Heights project in the Bronx, and again on March 3, 1893, stated that "Our Building Committee met last night and greatly admired the General View" of Washington Square. Realization of the Bronx campus commission was slow in coming, perhaps because someone on the Building Committee did not favour White. It was therefore suggested that in case White's University Heights scheme was not approved, additional invitations should be sent to R.M. Hunt, George B. Post and H.J. Hardenbergh, and that Calvert Vaux should plan the layout. In the meantime MacCracken informed White on January 26, 1894, that

> "At one of our meetings when assurance was received of the money for a Language Hall, I asked the Committee whether we should not have plans for this one hall from your firm . . . . Personally I feel deeply indebted to you and your firm for your generous gift of the preliminary general sketch for use at the World's Fair. . . ."[4]

The first building to be built, the Hall of Languages, was three storeys high and dictated the materials to be used throughout the scheme, pale buff-coloured Roman bricks, Indiana limestone and terra-cotta for accent and trim. Hall of Languages was a scaled down version of the Cornell Medical College building, consisting of a single centrally positioned four-column

colonnade. Gould Library came next as a Pantheon domed space on drum with a cruciform base and pediments on each face. Its internal mezzanine incorporated eighteen seminar rooms for each chair of instruction, comparable to Jefferson's ten pavilions at Virginia. Below the library was an auditorium to seat 600. A colonnaded hall of fame to contain 116 busts encircled the library on its large podium at the edge of a bluff from the rear of the Hall of Languages to the later Hall of Philosophy. Daniel Chester French sculpted busts of Emerson and Pope, and MacMonnies one of the author John Lothrop Motley representing "Great Americans by Wealth of Thought or else by Mighty Deeds. They Served Mankind in Noble Character in the World Wide Good. They Live Forever."

THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA LIBRARY

If the Library at New York University was inspired by Jefferson's Pantheon, then the restoration of the Library at the University of Virginia was a return to the fountainhead of the Roman revival in America.

An annex had been added to Jefferson's Rotunda from 1851 to 1853, and it was here that fire broke out on October 27, 1895. Dynamite was used to sever the doomed annex from the main structure but the explosives failed and the fire spread, destroying not only the building but a copy of Raphael's "School of Athens" by Paul Blaze, 1854.[5]

The Rector of the University and the Board of Trustees called Visitors had discussions concerning new buildings for the University prior to the fire, but this catastrophe had brought matters to a head. On October 31, only four days later, McDonald Brothers of Louisville, Kentucky, were appointed to repair the Rotunda for the approaching winter. A faculty report of the same day recommended rebuilding the Rotunda, omission of the extension, which they considered unsympathetic and replacing it with a new north portico. They wanted Jefferson's double floor system replaced by a single level in the Rotunda and satisfactory heating, lighting and ventilation within the building. All new academic buildings were to be harmoniously Classical and include physics and engineering laboratories, a theatre and law building. Above all they wanted an architect of national repute.[6] McDonald Brothers made preliminary proposals for the restoration, consisting of a double dome and three internal tiers of orders. "John Kevan Peebles, an alumnus of the University and a Norfolk architect, made a special trip to the University to suggest Stanford White be employed. The work of the McDonald Brothers was then rejected, and White's office carried on with its own designs."[7]

White visited the University in early January 1896 and William M. Thornton, Chairman of the University of Virginia, wrote on January 18, 1896:

> "I forward by this mail the formal invitation of our Building Committees, designed to secure

your professional services for this University.

> "If you recall a brief interview in your office last autumn, you will remember that I explained to you the limitations of our resources and the simplicity of the materials in which your work must be done. There will be only $250,000 to be expended in buildings, and your reliance must be mainly on bricks and mortar. But Jefferson showed in our old buildings how much could be done by proportion and composition and we shall trust you to broaden his demonstration."[8]

On the same day, W.C.N. Randolph, chairman of the building committee, expressed another problem: "We have barely 8 months in which to restore our main building (the Rotunda) and erect such new ones as are needed for the accommodation of our classes."[9] The Virginia Legislature passed a bill for the relief of the University, in the meantime. The Manuscripts Division of the University of Virginia Library has limited correspondence between White and two rectors of the University, W.C.N. Randolph and Armistead C. Gordon. White cabled his reply to Randolph from New York on January 22, 1896: "Just received letters. We are delighted at the honor you have done us. Will write making appointment for the first of next week."[10]

White published an article on his work at the University of Virginia at the request of Corks and Curls, the University of

Virginia annual. They had wanted the article for the 1897 issue, but for some reason it was published the following year. Since this is one of the few pieces of writing by White it is worth quoting here in its entirety.[11]

"THE BUILDINGS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA"
By Stanford White

"It is difficult to tell what may have been Jefferson's original ideas as to the completion of the buildings of the University of Virginia, but he must have contemplated some finish at the north end similar to that now adopted, and the completion of the College Lawn in its present form is an endeavor to follow out the original scheme as far as possible.

"In restoring the Rotunda--that part of Jefferson's work which was destroyed by fire--only one deviation from the original plan has been made, but this is one which Jefferson would unquestionably have adopted himself had he been able to do so when the Rotunda was built, and one which he would have himself insisted upon still more could he have directed the restoration. He was forced at the time the Rotunda was designed, for utilitarian reasons, to divide it into two floors, with great loss to the singleness,

dignity, and proportions of the interior. In the upper room the proportion in height of the dome to that of the side walls was necessarily too great. As far as it was possible with due consideration to the requirements of the Library, the design and character of the old Jefferson room has been reproduced in the new. It was evidently Jefferson's intention to build a portico at the north end of the Rotunda, and in the restoration this new portico was added, and a great flight of steps carried down to the terrace and then to the road, with a happy and dignified result. The southerly terrace of the Rotunda was repeated on the northerly side, to give support to the portico, and these two terraces were connected by open colonnades forming two interior courts. The Rotunda as now reconstructed is thoroughly fire-proof, as is also the entire floor of the auditorium of the Academical buildings.

"The carrying out of the quadrangle in the simple style and character of the old buildings, with their extreme modesty of height, was a very difficult problem, and was rendered much more difficult by modern academical requirements, especially that of the academical theatre, with its seating capacity of nearly 3000. To have

built so large a building above the ground level would have crushed the Rotunda and entirely done away with the charm of the old University Lawn. The grade of the land, however, happily permitted a solution of this difficulty. The green gently drops down to its present finish, and to the eye the new line of buildings is of but slightly more importance in height and character than the old buildings surrounding the old Lawn. This has been accomplished by grading and by a tremendous fill of earth--nearly thirty feet in height--at the end of the Lawn. The new buildings only count as one storey high from the inner side of the Lawn, but are two, and even three, storeys high on their outer faces, these storeys descending instead of ascending. There remains still much to be done to perfect the scheme; the arcades have still to be added to the quadrangle, the dome and all the stucco work painted white, and there are various little perfecting touches still lacking throughout.

"As a rule, any attempt in works of science and art by those not especially trained and educated to these ends (that is, by laymen or amateurs) has resulted, as it must necessarily result, in failure; but Jefferson was unquestionably one of the most many sided of geniuses. He was a

shining example of intelligence and culture, and it is owing to these qualities that the University of Virginia has such an exquisite group of collegiate buildings, which in their singleness are unique in the world. Jefferson would unquestionably have made a great architect. In whatever work with which he was connected, his powerful and controlling mind is evident; and that he possessed a creative and designing faculty, both Monticello and the University give full evidence. It was fortunate, however, that architecture had reached such a point at this time, that any attempt at originality in detail by one trained, still less by one untrained, in the profession, was almost out of the question. The progress of the Renaissance had, under Louis XVI, and the Georges, and more intensely under Napoleon, gradually assumed a strictly classic character; all detail was, in a great measure, simply reproduction of the antique; books were extant then which gave these details in almost as great perfection as they can be found today; and Jefferson was thus enabled to select for use in the University buildings classical detail which the world has, and always will approve as supremely beautiful. Nevertheless, there is no sign of slavish imitation or copying in the University, everything has been

simply and appropriately applied to the modest character of the buildings, and, although it cannot but be regretted that it was not possible to use marble where wood and stucco, painted white, take its place, yet, as the use of marble was necessarily impossible, the mind, reverting to the period when the buildings were erected, forgives the homely substitute in delight at the charming result.

"If the new buildings are successful, it is mainly due to the fact that the architects have rigidly endeavored to carry out and complete the original scheme as laid down by Jefferson, and that in doing so, the work has been to them a work of love, but one, however, which could not have been possible without the hearty and sympathetic co-operation of the Rector, Jefferson's descendant; of the Building and Executive Committees, and the Board of Visitors. The State of Virginia may well feel that in the graceful proportions of the Rotunda and of the old buildings, in the gleaming white colonnades with their classic temples embowered in avenues of trees, and in its beautiful College lawn under its soft skies, that it possesses, if not the finest, or richest, or most imposing, at least the most exquisite and perfect group of

collegiate buildings in the world."

White thus agreed with the Faculty, Rector and Visitors that Jefferson had undoubtedly been forced to divide the drum of the Rotunda into two floors in order to maximize on the amount of accommodation to be provided. A new Pantheon space was therefore introduced covered with a fireproof Guastavino vault instead of Jefferson's wooden dome, and the same vaulting system used for galleries, first floor steps and pediment roof. (Fig.97) Cabell, Cocke and Rouss Halls were kept to a single storey at the far end of the quadrangle and since the lawn stepped a total of nine feet, a view of the valley and Blue Ridge Mountains beyond could still be attained from the Rotunda terrace at the level of the portico above the roofs of the new buildings. The topography sloped off steeply into the valley beyond Cabell which faced the Rotunda so that the theatre to accommodate 1500 and not 3000 was built into the hillside. White also explained to Theodore Skinner, a member of the Building Committee, how he used the eagle and stars from the hall ceiling of Monticello for the ornamentation around the skylight of the Rotunda.[12] The owner of Monticello at this period was Mr. Jefferson M. Levy and White possibly advised him on repairs to a frieze and ceiling in one of the rooms while he was on a site visit to Charlottesville.[13] Beyond the Rotunda, wings were built on the north side to match those by Jefferson on the south; the two wings were linked, and a marble balustrade was added all round.

Cabell Hall (Fig.98), 1899, at the end of the lawn was centered around an auditorium to seat 1,500 on molded plywood seats with a semi-circular wall at the rear of the rostrum for the new "School of Athens" painted in Rome, 1902, by George W. Breck. External pediment sculptures were by George Julian Zolnay and based upon the Biblical quotation from John 8:23: "Ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make you free." The building was a simple brick block with stone portico, pilasters, cornices and trim as were Rouss Hall (Fig.99) for the Physics Department and Cocke Hall (Fig.100), a mechanical laboratory which followed soon after. Other pavilions were projected by White to bring his complex closer to the layout of Jefferson (Fig.101). The reason for the distant relationship was that White considered Jefferson's plan "wonderful" and "when asked why he did not locate his own buildings nearer to the Jefferson group, White replied that such temerity must be reserved for a more audacious architect."[14] Those who may have had objections to the three new buildings would thus have had time to acclimatise themselves to the idea before closer additions to the old buildings were made.

Jefferson's Rotunda (Fig.102) built from 1821-26 stood for almost seventy years, White's for almost eighty although as early as 1955 plans were afoot to restore the Rotunda to the Jefferson original. The Department of Housing and Urban Development and the Cary D. Langhorne Trust of Washington, D.C. together contributed a million dollars in 1972 toward the reconversion of the interior which took two years; it was

completed in 1976 for the bicentennial celebration.[15] The north portico facing the road and away from the quadrangle as added by Jefferson's architectural pupil Robert Mills in the mid 1840's had been reintroduced by White in his design. The entrance door from this portico after restorations of 1974-76 now leads nowhere. The south portico facing the quadrangle and approached by a broad flight of steps leads into a dumb-bell-shaped corridor. From the sides of this corridor are doors into two oval rooms, forty-nine by twenty-eight feet and at the end of the corridor on the north side of the building is another oval room, thirty-seven feet by sixteen. At the south end of the corridor a pair of staircases (Fig.103) lead up to the hemispherical space of the Rotunda sitting upon a cylinder of approximately one quarter of the diameter of the dome in its height (Fig.104). There had always been opposition to such a restoration, but it became vociferous only after its commence-ment in 1974, when it was too late. At its completion, comment is again limited. Ada Louise Huxtable, the architectural critic, has made no public comment in the New York Times although Paul Goldberger evaluated the situation on 9 November 1976, "In Evicting a Stanford White Design, Virginians Gain Apparent Jefferson," with the emphasis on "apparent," a con-jectural "unreal Jefferson building instead of a real Stanford White." With the Stanford White design one could enter directly into the domed Pantheon space (to half the scale of the Hadrianic structure) directly from south and north porticoes from quad-rangle and street.

MADISON SQUARE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

White's third Pantheon-inspired building, or at least the eastward expansion of dome construction during the Byzantine period which began with the Pantheon, was over the Greek cross plan of Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church (Fig.105, 106).

A sub-committee was set up within the church to select an architect and on April 21, 1903, it was decided that "The Gothic spire or tower is clearly not admissible by reason of the size and style of adjacent buildings"[16] and Twenty-fifth Street and Madison Avenue. The Building Committee, consisting of E.C. Bodman, Louis C. Tiffany and Robert W. DeForest, was unanimous in choosing Stanford White, and urged the appointment, with the concurrence of Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst, the minister. White admitted that his design was Early Christian, modified by rich colours and gold mosaics in the dome as in Byzantium. He went to great lengths to explain that his design had no affinity to the Gothic, a style of the Roman Catholic church from the ninth to the fifteenth centuries.

One 600-foot-high skyscraper had been concstructed in the vicinity of the church at the rear and another would inevitably be built beside it, so White decided to make his church a jewel, with an imposing portico of vertical emphasis in polished green granite. Marble would be used for the basement, green and yellow terra-cotta for decorative motifs, a specially-made brick, semi-glazed, for the walls, and a slightly darker

shade of brick, a cross stamped in the end to create a diagonal pattern. Yellow and green tile was projected for dome and lantern with an apex finial of gold. DeForest, a Trustee of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, had his own attitudes regarding the church which he expressed in a letter of May 26, 1903.

> "Do not think me luke-warm at all about the plans for our church. I think they are excellent. . . . I would like to emphasize the importance of. . . capitals. . . early Romanesque instead of classic. From the same point of view I should hope that other details might be given the flavor of the Byzantine. . . and that this should be applicable even more strongly to interior than exterior. It seems to me in this line you have a unique opportunity and that objection which I hear of on the heathen temple side can be entirely met by such an early Christian treatment."[17]

Cost was a major factor in building the church and parish house, the amount appropriated being $325,000, including the architect's fee. The first estimate came in at $417,502, but included $18,000 for steel piles down to a rock bed which was thought necessary. The design was thus slightly modified but Tiffany Studios were logically employed for all windows including the chancel rose, angels, decoration and case for the organ, pews and communion table.[18]

Acoustical problems beset the church from the beginning because of its excessive height in relation to floor area, which amounted to about 5,000 square feet. Professor Wallace Sabine of Harvard, who had been consulted on the Cornell Medical College, suggested covering the walls with one-inch-thick felt between battens, covered with burlap and wallpaper.[19] This would cost $2,708 for the church and was a similar solution to those recommendations he made for the House of Representatives, Rhode Island State House, Brookline High School and Williams College, but he admitted that there was no way of measuring the effectiveness of his proposal.[20]

By 1919 the population movement of New York City left the church without a congregation, and additionally the building was standing on all too valuable a piece of land. Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church was thus razed, the entrance door going to the Brooklyn Museum, the St. Francis door and window to the Mission Inn, Riverside, California, the pediment sculptures for re-erection on a wing of the Metropolitan Museum and the green granite columns to The Hartford Times Building, Hartford, Connecticut.

A building awarded the medal of honour in 1907 by the New York Chapter of the American Institute of Architects stood thirteen years after completion!

BOWERY SAVINGS BANK

Between 1893 when the Bowery Savings Bank (Figs.126-130) at the Bowery and Grand Street began building, and the completion of Naugatuck High School in 1905, White designed a half-dozen or more Classical Revival structures, the details of which were adapted from Greek and Roman sources. The corner of Grand Street and the Bowery was occupied by another building and White was given the L-shaped site wrapping around the existing structure. He thus planned two entrances, one from each of the main thoroughfares leading into a large banking hall, a perfect cube upon the width of the entrance facade on Grand Street. Columns of this tetrastyle portico and to the same scale repeat as a five-bay colonnade on all four sides of the internal cube. Roman Corinthian veined marble columns were used on the Grand Street portico and internally identical columns support a vaulted ceiling octagonally coffered. The Bowery front has pairs of Corinthian columns in antis on either side of an arched entrance. Both pediments have almost identical reclining male and female figures and two lions on either side of a clock by Frederick MacMonnies.

NAUGATUCK HILLSIDE SCHOOL

This school was a simple rectangular building with tetrastyle portico on its narrow end elevation, not as a continuation of the width of the building as a Roman portico on a Roman cella, but as a central motif on a facade as revivalists of eighteenth

and early nineteenth century styles would have done. Portico was of limestone tying basement and cornice together also of limestone. Had a red brick been used, the school would have looked stylistically earlier than it does with its buff-coloured patterned bricks and protruding headers around windows.

KNICKERBOCKER TRUST COMPANY

Knickerbocker Trust Company (Fig.108) at 324 Fifth Avenue, 1901-04, was even more Roman; the detailing was high Roman--although on a Hellenic building as Montgomery Schuyler observed in his article "A Modern Classic," in the May, 1904, Architectural Record. Schuyler defended the Corinthian order, three storeys high, in modern construction quoting Viollet-le-Duc: "To use columns as points of resistance, piers or buttresses, and then to shut up the intercolumnation with light construction was to reason very wisely," but to fill such spaces with solid wall "as the Romans and their infatuated imitators, /was/ very barbarous reasoning."[21] The Corinthian order and vine scroll frieze were of Vermont white marble.

This bank commissioned by Charles Barney who returned to White with commissions time and again was to have been thirteen storeys high with hotel accommodations above the bank. Backers for the hotel withdrew their support and the temple resulted. When in 1906 it was decided to add offices above to produce a building twenty-two storeys high above basement, White adapted his design for the Tiffany building of ornate

base, simple shaft and elaborate cap.

WEST POINT

Similar arguments were used by Schuyler in his criticism of the Cullum Memorial Hall at West Point (Figs.109, 110), 1898, where a complete Greek Ionic order was built into a wall and windows punched through between the columns.[22] There were precedents in Greek and Neo Classical architecture--the Basilica of the Giants (Zeus Olympus) at Agrigentum, 510-409 B.C., and the neo-Grec Faculté de Médecine, Paris, completed c.1800, by Paul René-Léon Ginan.

Memorial Hall was built under a bequest of $250,000 by Brevet Major General George W. Cullum, who demanded "a fireproof stone building which shall be a receptacle of statues, busts, mural tablets and portraits; paintings of battle scenes, trophies of war, and such other objects as may tend to give elevation to the military profession. . . ."[23] from 1812 to the present. Congress appropriated a further $25,000 and the Academy selected five firms of architects to compete, all firms of New York City, "to keep down the price": R.M. Hunt, Babb, Cook and Willard, C.C. Haight, George B. Post, and McKim, Mead and White. Architectural features were to be left to the individual architects, but with the suggestion that the buildings be kept low. Professor of Drawing at West Point, C.W. Larned described "The composition and sentiment of this design," the winning scheme by McKim, Mead and White, as "very beautiful and har-

monious--quiet, dignified, and massive and very finely proportioned." Externally the Greek Ionic of the Erechtheum, Athens, was used and internally the Roman Corinthian from the Pantheon portico with caryatids of the Erechtheum opposite the stage, at the entrance end. The external colonnade on the parade ground side of the building and the pilasters on the Hudson River side actually carried the cornice and thus the elements were not merely decorative. Pink Milford granite was used throughout to provide a permanency to this essentially museum building type.

Adolph Weinman offered to model two caryatids of the Erechtheum for $1,500,[24] but Larned thought this too high a price until it was pointed out by White that if cast in bronze the detailing of the models would have to be perfect.[25] The cost of the buildings was $216,132.26[26] so that the remainder could be devoted to art works. Philip Martiny was employed on a fifteen inch diameter plaque of General Webb, 1902, for $160, but few other commissions went to him because of his refusal to reply to Larned's continuous barrage of questions. Larned even complained to White on September 13, 1901, asking "But why can't your dago genius answer a civil question?" Martiny was the second choice after Herbert Adams, who was rejected as "a high priced sculptor."[27]

On either side of Cullum's Memorial Hall were Bachelor Officers' Quarters, plain, simple and unassuming as the two halls on either side of the library at New York University. Each of the

BOQ's cost about $80,000 and leaked continuously after construction. There had also been continuous delays in the construction of the quarters, so that one wonders if this was not sufficient reason for another competition in 1903. An act of Congress was passed on June 28, 1902, "To increase the efficiency of the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York, and to provide for the enlargement of buildings. . . complete plans shall be prepared and approved by the Secretary of War. . . ."[28] at a cost of five-and-one-half million dollars. Ten firms were invited to compete in this phase of West Point's expansion including Carrere and Hastings. Hastings wrote White on May 7, 1903: "I feel like giving up the job. I have a great mind to send you a bill for expenses up to date and do no more on the D--- plans! If we don't give up I'm going to incorporate several of your suggestions in our plans, especially the balloon idea and if we get the job we do the work together. Your letter is a work of art in itself. I advise you to give up architecture and write for a comic journal. . . ."[29] The jury, consisting of Lt. Gen. John M. Schofield, Colonel Albert L. Mills and three architects, Cass Gilbert, George B. Post, and Walter Cook, the latter two of whom had been beaten in the previous competition, met on May 20, 1903, and reported "its unanimous opinion in favor of awarding the competition to the author or authors of the design marked 'J,' believing that the character of the design is such that it can not only be constructed with economy but that it will harmonize with the landscape; and that it can be readily developed into a satisfactory and complete plan. . . ."[30] The design marked 'J' was that of

Cram, Goodhue and Ferguson of Boston in association with Olmsted Brothers, landscape architects. Classicism was over at West Point, and lofty Gothic structures began a new era of the Military Academy.

Classicism, however, prevailed in other places, including work for the Interborough Rapid Transit Company of New York, which commissioned White in 1903 for a power station at Eleventh Avenue and Fifty-ninth Street (Fig.111). The directors carefully considered the character of their building which they realised would be massive. They wanted a simple design where structure complemented the style. Granite was used to the water table level with buff-coloured Roman bricks above enriched by terra-cotta for pilasters, window surrounds and cornices. Baldwin considered that "White solved the apparent hopeless problem of a box of a building surmounted by four high stacks. The repetition of a simple well-proportioned bay" reflecting the steel structure lends dignity to the building, while the chimneys have an unusual elegance "owing to their delicate entasis and wrought-iron finials."[31] The well-proportioned bay, finely detailed and executed with pairs of rusticated brick pilasters between each arch, was as Roman as the Colosseum or McKim's Boston Public Library. Partners within the firm freely exchanged ideas and the difference between a building to store books on racks is not so far removed from a building to house machinery, boilers and coal hoppers.

Similar structures by White for power houses at Niagara had ranges of arches which were Romanesque in character. New York City power houses had refinements of Federal late eighteenth century architecture.

Side arches between pilasters were also used on the white marble State Savings Bank (Fig.112), Detroit, 1898-1900, with its two Greek Ionic columns in antis, on either side of the entrance. Norcross Brothers were again the contractors for a structure which included Indiana limestone and green granite columns inside for the banking hall. McKim, Mead and White gave seven-tenths of their fee of $14,564.49 to a local Detroit firm, Donaldson and Meier for site supervision and control of the job.[32]

W. Hawkins Ferry's The Building of Detroit, Detroit, 1968, not only describes this building but sums up the whole oeuvre complet of Stanford White, each building having "exquisite refinements of its details and proportions, the handiwork of the most gifted and fastidious of the partners."[33]

FOOTNOTES

1. For details of Prospect Park, see Norval White and Elliot Willensky, AIA Guide to New York City, N.Y.: 1968, pp.285-91.

2. NYHS M&P, Prospect Park, box 176. There is some question as to whether MacMonnies sculpted and White designed the architectural features for the Vale of Cashmere, but a letter of September 30, 1895, to White from the Commissioner of Brooklyn Parks clears up this question, since the Commissioner was "anxious to have a little further talk with you in regard to the Vale of Cashmere and Mr. MacMonnies' statues for the same."

3. NYHS M&P, New York University, box 129.

4. Ibid.

5. See William B. O'Neal, Pictorial History of the University of Virginia, Charlottesville, 1968.

6. University of Virginia Archives, Faculty Report to Rector and Visitors, 31 October 1895.

7. William B. O'Neal, Architectural Drawing in Virginia, 1819-1969, exhibition catalogue, Charlottesville: School of Architecture, 1969, p.114. A section through the McDonald Brothers proposed restoration is illustrated.

8. NYHS M&P, University of Virginia, box 172.

9. Ibid.

10. University of Virginia, Manuscript Devision, Gordon Papers, Collection 38-145, box 1, 1896.

11. Op.cit., Vol. 2 (1898): 127-30.

12. NYHS M&P, Miscellaneous file M-3, letter, 12 November 1896, in the first of two folders.

13. NYHS M&P, Miscellaneous file M-3 (second of two folders), letter, Jefferson M. Levy to Thomas H. Skinner: "You say the frieze will not cost exceeding $100, if so please have it done, also small piece over fire-place under the mantel. As for the ceiling, if you can reclaim it, without bringing it all down or hurting the eagle at no great expense, you can have that done also; . . . . I think the ceiling was intended to be white; Green seems to me to be a poor color."

14. Baldwin, White, p.322.

15. Francis L. Berkeley, Jr., "Rotunda: Facts vs. Fiction," The Declaration (a weekly news magazine of the University of Virginia) 1 February 1974, pp. 7 and 12; 22 February 1974, pp. 7 and 10. Berkeley is Executive Assistant to President Shannon and archivist of the University. He has presented all the facts relating to the restoration.

16. NYHS M&P, Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church, two folders: M-20. All subsequent factual information also from these folders.

17. Ibid.

18. One window in particular, above a sculpted door to the Glory of St. Francis of Assisi, is worthy of mention. It was designed as a medallion jewel of thirteenth century style and was almost as intricate as the frame, of eighth to ninth century Celtic decoration, set into a modillioned arch. Guastavino Brothers constructed the dome, galleries, and fireproof floor vaults throughout the church. Church and parish house were completed in October, 1906, four months after White's death.

    Terra-cotta pediment sculptures replaced the marble backing of the pediment in 1910 when Miss Flora Isham donated money specifically for this purpose. Antonin C. Skodik, an Austrian sculptor, began full size plaster models, but died before completing them and the task was taken over by Adolph Alexander Weinman, with assistance, for colour, by H. Siddons Mowbray. Eight full size models were made, photographed, blown up to full size, coloured by Mowbray, and erected in the pediment to gauge the effect. Thereafter "The Adoration of the Shrine" by floating angels, was made in terra-cotta and positioned.

19. NYHS M&P, Madison Square Presbyterian Church, file M-20, undated note from Professor Sabine.

20. Ibid.

21. Op.cit., pp.431-44, quotation p.440.

22. Montgomery Schuyler, "A Modern Classic," Architectural Record 15 (May 1904): 431-44.

23. NYHS M&P, Cullum Memorial, West Point, boxes 200, 201, 544 and file 548. An undated memorandum by Professor C.W. Larned, Col. USMA, in box 201. This and subsequent quotations.

24. Ibid., box 200, undated quotation by Weinman.

25. Ibid., box 201, letter from Larned to Mead, 11 August 1906.

26. Ibid., box 200.

27. Ibid., box 201, letter from Larned to Mead, 11 August 1906.

28. Ibid., box 544.

29. Ibid.

30. Ibid.

31. Baldwin, White, p.324.

32. NYHS M&P, State Savings Bank, Detroit, file M-18.

33. Op.cit., p.211.

CHAPTER SIX

STANFORD WHITE AND SAINT-GAUDENS

To capture the totality of a great man in a biographical study is always a difficult task. Louis Hall Tharp has done a creditable job in Saint-Gaudens and the Gilded Age,[1] and earlier, Homer Saint-Gaudens combined retrospection with attitudes and continuity to produce The Reminiscences of Augustus Saint-Gaudens.[2] Homer also edited a series of "Intimate Letters of Stanford White and Saint-Gaudens" in the August, September and October, 1911, issues of The Architectural Record,[3] but in total these publications never really capture the intimate friendship between the two giants, one an architect and the other America's most famed sculptor.

Louis Hall Tharp's biography, written after the death of the dramatis personae, was able to discuss more openly Saint-Gaudens' lengthy affair with Davida Johnson Clark, a model who posed in the early 1880's for the Morgan Tomb angels and later Amor Caritas, (who bore Augustus's child Louis P. Clark, called Novy, born 1889, of whom Saint-Gaudens made a bronze medal in 1892) and with whom he went to France in 1898. Old, deaf and overweight Gussie, Augusta Saint-Gaudens, was unaware of Davida until about 1900 when Gus wrote to Gussie "The quiet dignity of Mrs. MacMonnies and Mrs. White toward the gross actions of their husbands is far finer and commands a deeper respect. . . than your mealy mouthed attitude."[4]

This chapter can go little further than that except to say that Gussie, a business-like woman undoubtedly opened intimate letters addressed to Gus if her suspicions were aroused, as they must have been after the realization of the existence of Davida and others. Stanford White thus acted almost as a go-between, especially when Saint-Gaudens was under Gussie's eye at Aspet, Near Cornish, New Hampshire. Gus wrote "Dear Stan" on December 8, 1900--"Any letters you find for me at the Players /Club/ please put in another envelope without the name of your firm on it, and address to 'Miss Rose Nichols, Windsor, Vermont.' I had a private box when I was at the club as well as the usual one."[5] Saint-Gaudens would pick up "Miss Rose Nichols" mail at the Windsor Post Office, just across the Connecticut River from Cornish, and should Gussie pick up the mail, the envelope, unmarked with regard to the sender's return address, would allay any suspicion. This scheme was not altogether successful because a similar request was made to White the following year on March 25, 1901, asking that letters be forwarded bearing the name "Mr. Tonnacelli, c/o Mr. St. Gaudens."[6]

When Augustus was in New York City he sometimes stayed at the White town house in Gramercy Park, and if White were out of town, he wrote to warn the maids to be prepared for Gus's arrival. Their correspondence was always lusty, intimate and full of expletives. White would always begin with "Dear Horgustus,""My beloved Snooks," "Beloved," "Gusty Gus," or some similar type of descriptive phrase as the moment struck

him. Gus would reply in kind as in an undated letter to "Dear Stan, Thank you a thousand times for the money which I will return on Saturday. That G D Gen'l Viele of the Cooper Committee is the cause of my very lust. I'm your man to dine, drink, Fuck, bugger or suck, metaphorically speaking. . . ."[7] On occasions Gus would sign himself affectionately, without malice, "Kiss My Ass"--to which Stan would reply, although in abbreviated form: "K.M.A.,--S.M.A.,--B.M.B.,--S.M.C.,--G.T.H."[8] Or Gus, instead of his facial character cartoon signature, would draw a single and at times as many as thirteen erect penes. At the end of their lives they did not see much of each other, but on May 5, 1906, Gus could write "I am glad to know that your Balls are all right. Sometimes mine wabble and sometimes they clink, clink. . . ."[9]

Gus first met Stan in 1874 in the German Savings Bank Building, New York, or possibly earlier in connection with their work on Trinity Church, Boston, which White supervised for Richardson. Saint-Gaudens, while painting the St. James with open book in a lunette, was under the direction of John La Farge.[10]

Saint-Gaudens who had been in France during 1867, was one of the first American sculptors to re-evaluate the sculpture of the Renaissance, and owned a cast of Donatello's "St. George" at Aspet, New Hampshire.[11] "My father had scant patience with Rodin-like tendencies," wrote Homer.[12] Daniel Chester French was of like mind and on one occasion wrote to Mead concerning

Andrew O'Connor's contribution to the sculptures on the porch of St. Bartholomew's Church, Park Avenue, New York: "While I am somewhat tired of the Rodinesque style of sculpture, I have no doubt that O'Connor will make a fine thing out this statue. . . . "[13]

White, Saint-Gaudens and Charles McKim, "The Three Redheads" as they were called, travelled together in France during the summer of 1878. In 1883, after a trip to Chicago concerning the standing Lincoln statue, Gus joined White in an extended trip throughout the southwest, accompanied by Stanford's brother Richard, a mining engineer, who had settled in New Mexico. Saint-Gaudens made a bronze caricature medal of McKim, White and himself to commemorate the 1878 tour of southern France and included additional symbols of architecture and sculpture--the T-square, dividers and maul, plus the much admired facade of the church of St. Gilles du Gard. He also made a bronze medal of McKim during the same year. McKim and Saint-Gaudens had a tremendous admiration for each other throughout their lives, but it never seems to have reached the intimacy of the relationship between White and Saint-Gaudens. McKim designed the setting for the Colonel Robert Gould Shaw Monument, Boston, a commission obtained through the inducement of H.H. Richardson in 1884, and also the base for the General Sherman Monument in New York at the southeast corner of Central Park on Fifth Avenue at Fifty-ninth Street.[14] The $18,000 Stoney Creek granite pedestal makes the Sherman led by Victory even more monumental than it is, and as one of Saint-Gaudens'

grandest pieces, it has an imposing dignity. Saint-Gaudens congratualted McKim on November 29, 1894, "on the splendid work you have produced; it has fired me all up to get at the group and make it as swell a thing as possible."[15] The contract was signed on March 21, 1892, the fee was $45,000, and it was due for completion by May 1, 1894.[16] Its final unveiling on May 5, 1913, after the death of both sculptor and architect, and nineteen years after the signing of the contract, makes one wonder why at one point, when McKim was on vacation for a few weeks Saint-Gaudens wrote asking if perhaps White should not take over the design of the base. This suggests that Saint-Gaudens preferred working with White.

Writing to an art instructor on December 13, 1934, concerning the commission for two groups of figures for McKim's Boston Public Library (Religion, Law and Power, and Science, Labor and Art) contracted by Saint-Gaudens in 1892 but never completed by him, William Kendall stated that in McKim's "Opinion they would have been the finest pieces of statuary that he had ever designed."[17]

Friendly advice was often transmitted between McKim and Saint-Gaudens, two professionals who respected each other's art. When, for example, McKim was designing side wings for the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Saint-Gaudens wrote on July 6, 1905, "When you design the hall for the exhibition of sculpture in the Metropolitan Museum 'For God's Sake' remember that the proper lighting is an important consideration. I speak of this

again with emphasis as my attention has been drawn to the dismal failure of /Richard Morris/ Hunt's hall for sculpture there. It may be good architecture and a glorious bath of Caracalla thing, but its a damn bad gallery for the proper disposition of works of art."[18] When McKim's Pierpont Morgan Library was nearing completion, Saint-Gaudens saw it and thought it "a Peach--- bully boy and 'a pros-pos' let me say a word--you ought not to allow J.P.M. to bully you; I think if you were to sass him back, he would respect you more. I know that too; thats been my experience and you will thereby be more able to work in peace. Forgive the preaching. . . Charlie!"[19] This was the reason why Saint-Gaudens turned down commissions for the library, suggesting Edward C. Potter instead, who made two nine-foot-long Assyrian lions, one for either side of the entry, of Tennessee marble for $10,000:[20] McKim wanted Saint-Gaudens included with Olmsted, Burnham and himself on the Senate Parks Commissions in Washington, and Burnham offered Saint-Gaudens the organisation of the sculptures at the Chicago World's Fair, 1893, which he turned down, suggesting Daniel Chester French instead. He also forwarded the career of his brother Louis, recommending him to Burnham as sculptor for the Union Station, Washington, D.C.[21]

Saint-Gaudens was still unknown in the early 1880's except as a cameo cutter. White and Saint-Gaudens had participated on Trinity Church, Boston, and on the Morgan Tomb. In addition, Saint-Gaudens had worked at St. Thomas' Church, New York,

where again under the direction of John La Farge he sculpted "Angels Adoring the Cross." He had been under the architectural direction of George B. Post on the Cornelius Vanderbilt mansion at Fifth Avenue and Fifty-seventh Street, where he sculpted caryatids for the entry hall. St. Thomas' burned in 1905, and the Vanderbilt mansion was razed in 1925.

Saint-Gaudens' first major work, in collaboration with Stanford White was the Farragut Commission of 1881 for Madison Square (Fig.113). Admiral David Glasgow Farragut, 1801-1870, was the hero of the battle of Mobile Bay in 1864. In 1876 a committee headed by General Dix was formed to undertake the erection of a memorial sculpture: "That the memory of a daring, a sagacious commander, and gentle, great souled man, whose life from childhood was given to his country, but who served her supremely in the war for the Union, may be preserved and honored, and that they who come after him and will owe him so much may see him as he was seen by friend and foe, his countrymen have set up this monument."[22] The committee chose, by a vote of six to five, the most eminent sculptor of the day, John Quincy Adam Ward. Swamped with work, Ward suggested Augustus Saint-Gaudens. A vote was again taken, and since Saint-Gaudens offered to execute it for $12,000, the committee again voted six to five in his favour.[23]

Saint-Gaudens worked intensely on the figure, Donatello's work uppermost in his mind as he did so "but it was hard work with our infernal modern dress. . . . "[24] A figure in Renaissance

dress is what Saint-Gaudens would have preferred to sculpt. Saint-Gaudens asked for Stanford White's help on the pedestal, to which the latter replied "Then I should go down to Fame, even if it was bad, reviled for making a poor base to a good statue."[25]

Mariana Griswold Van Rensselaer criticised White's pedestal. "Strictly speaking," she said, "the form of the sub-structure is better adapted to the angle of a building or to a niche in some natural or artificial elevation. . . ." Loyalty and Courage, the two reclining female reliefs of the base were "widely removed from conventional types which have so long done service to any army of modern sculptors. . . the veryest landlubber must at once recognise the poise of a sailor on a shifting surface."[26] Lawrence Grant White received an inquiry from Kenneth Conant, the Harvard architectural historian, on November 12, 1934, which stated: "I think the Farragut pedestal rather as a forerunner than as an actual example of the art nouveau--and certainly more restrained and better integrated than almost anything in the true art nouveau style. I thought that possibly your father had toyed with the art nouveau and then thrown it over, as he did the Richardsonian."[27] Since White was the designer of the pedestal, it was assumed that he had designed the Art Nouveau sculpture reliefs. Many other architectural historians have also considered this to be the case.[28]

But the reliefs, like the statue itself, are the work of Saint-

Gaudens, as a comparison of the fish and water niches on either side of the Red Verona marble mantel of the Villard Mansion dining room will show (Fig.114). These niches are no longer extant in the Villard Mansion (1881) but bronze sketches of them still exist at Aspet (Fig.115). Another comparative example would be the fountain at the rear of the Ross Winans house, Baltimore, 1883. Documentary proof exists, in addition to the stylistic comparisons of Saint-Gaudens' proto-Art Nouveau qualities of the early eighties. In a letter to La Farge on December 29, 1879, Saint-Gaudens complained, "At times I think its good /the Farragut Monument/, then indifferent, then bad. I will see what I can do with the two low reliefs. . . ."[29] and White to Saint-Gaudens on December 17, 1879: "Everybody likes the fishes, so I would make them like the little model, better as you can. As to the sea, do just as you please, and it will sure be bully. You must make it stormy through."[30] McKim and George Fletcher Babb thought the sculpture and reliefs excellent and Stanford reported "I had a long talk with Richardson and Olmsted about the Farragut pedestal. Both like it very much, Richardson especially. . . ."[31]

Margaret Bouton even contends that the bench on which Admiral Farragut stands may also have been an idea of Saint-Gaudens. On one of his Italian tours Saint-Gaudens "made jottings about benches." One entitled "Deposition of the Frescoes" by Gozzoli at the Camp Santo, Pisa, another fresco on the side wall of Terre del Podesta, San Gimignano, a drawing of sofa with steps in the Bargello, Florence, and seats in the court

at Pistoia and in St. Marks, Venice, may have suggested the base of the Farragut.[32]

The lowest bid for the pedestal was from a Mr. Fordyce at $2,700 and White was able to get him to reduce the bid to $2,350. But the eight-ton base supporting the one-and-one-quarter-ton, 8'3" high bronze Farragut, had so deteriorated and disintegrated by the mid-1930's that it had to be recut and replaced with Coopersbury Granite, nearest in colour to the original bluestone, at a cost of $25,000.[33] The monument was also moved at that time, when Farragut was "parallelogrammed into prominence," according to the New York Sun of April 12, 1935; the Admiral's sword, weighing one hundred pounds, had been stolen and was replaced. The original base was sent to Aspet where it still exists in rather poor condition. Frost action and pollution combined to produce flaking of the surface in rather large pieces.

After the Farragut, Saint-Gaudens made a marble plaque of Miss Bessie Smith, later to become Mrs. Stanford White, as a wedding gift, to which Stanford added an elaborate but complementary Florentine frame.

Sailor's Snug Harbor, Staten Island, commissioned a statue of Richard Randall, the founder, but funds were so limited that White wrote Saint-Gaudens on April 1, 1880, "I'll write to you about the Randall definitely in a few weeks. A simple pedestal is all we can have, I'm afraid,"[34] and simple it was. For the

Chicago standing Lincoln, Saint-Gaudens wrote "here again, I asked Mr. White to design the surroundings," as he did in the case of the frame for the Robert Louis Stevenson plaque for Edinburgh Cathedral and the Puritan sculpture for Springfield, Massachusetts. White chose pink granite for the Puritan and a bronze fountain consisting of a world sphere and four bronze tortoises representing the four seasons. On another occasion White employed Saint-Gaudens to design two reliefs of seated angels for the Steward Tomb at Greenwood Cemetery, Brooklyn, 1885 (Fig.116).

A commission comparable in scope to the Farragut was the Peter Cooper statue to be erected south of Cooper Union at Astor Place, New York, 1897 (Fig.117). Cooper was a bearded, heavy-set man who would have fitted into a bold Richardsonian setting. Instead White set him on a delicately carved pedestal and under an entablature flanked by Ionic columns. "In this work alone I think my father showed later some little dislike for the efforts of his faithful collaborator, Stanford White," wrote Homer Saint-Gaudens in The Reminiscences, "because one day, a few years after, on passing the monument with me, he remarked that he was sorry the canopy had not been further studied, since with his more tranquil eye he could see that the delicately traced architecture and fine lettering were not in keeping with the subject of a heavy and bearded man."[35] The Cooper was completed in 1891 and so was the Seal of the Boston Public Library for McKim and the Memorial at Rock Creek Cemetery, Washington, commissioned by Henry Adams in memory of

his wife. Adams wished for no classical monument and Stanford White here "resisted all temptation to produce columns and porticoes, but at the top of a plain rectangle, he designed a narrow classic cornice. Would this be all right? Saint-Gaudens was anxious on behalf of White and also for a different reason, in his own behalf,"[36] writes Louise Hall Tharp.

Then came the famous Diana, commissioned by White as a crowning feature for his Madison Square Garden, which extracted the retort from George Fletcher Babb, "Well you've designed quite a pedestal for St.-Gaudens this time"--more than three hundred feet high! Mrs. Julia Baird,[37] a New Jersey woman, was the model for this elegant figure, which was then enlarged to a height of eighteen feet by W.H. Mullins of Salem, Ohio, and made of sheet copper weighing a total of 2,000 pounds. Only when it was in position did architect and sculptor realise that it was too large and overpowering even at that height, despite the fact that a wooden silhouette had earlier been positioned to gauge the scale. White and Saint-Gaudens had the large sculpture removed and paid for a thirteen-foot-high Diana to be cut, out of their own pockets.[38] "Be very careful, make extra good job of gilding and properly protect," wrote White to Mullins, on November 2, 1893.[39] Baldwin quotes the attitude of the Mercury towards the Diana: "Formerly this beautiful little park was the gathering place for children. Now all this is changed. Occasionally a stray child may be seen, but more generally what children come there are rushed through at breakneck speed in the tow of a nurse or some older person."[40]

McKim decided to use the discarded eighteen-foot Diana for his Agriculture Building, Chicago, 1893. This caused quite a stir and the Women's Building at the Chicago Fair offered to have it, but again there was a terrific hoo-har. Eventually Diana was used as a weathervane for Montgomery Ward and Company, Chicago, and finally the head was exhibited in the Chicago Museum of Fine Arts.

The narrow-mindedness of many New York papers, of which the Mercury attitude was typical, can only be compared to the Bostonian position toward McKim's gift to the Boston Public Library of Frederick MacMonnies' Bacchante. When it was first displayed on a Sunday morning for those leaving the local churches to see, "ladies dropped to the floor in a swoon. Another shrieked and fled. A clergyman flushed the moment he saw it, raised his umbrella in a menacing way and then, thinking better of the impulse dashed madly out of the room. Four freshmen from Harvard looked at the figure, and immediately hung their handkerchiefs over their faces and retired backwards from the place. 'What's wrong with it?' asked a New Yorker in some alarm. 'Why,' said one of the freshmen, and he almost choked on his words, 'the drab hasn't a dud on. . . .'"[41] The New York Critic could be self-righteous on October 17, 1896, when it claimed, "Here is a beautiful work of art; it is worthy to be placed in this beautiful building, and it is an honor to America that it should have been made by an American." McKim retracted his offering, relieving the Trustees of the Boston Public Library of embarrassment, and

gave it to the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art, the secretary of which, L.P. di Cesnola, replied on June 3, 1897: "There is no doubt in my mind. . . that the bronze is well worth accepting."[42]

When Madison Square Garden was razed in 1925 and the thirteen-foot Diana lowered at 2:30 p.m. on May 6, her free flowing draperies (which helped turn her) had long since blown off in a gale, and she was put in storage in Brooklyn.[43] The Metropolitan Museum did not want a thirteen-foot Diana, and had an eight-foot high replica made in 1928. Finally the Philadelphia Museum of Art made a request for the sculpture and after repair work by the Roman Bronze Works of Corona, Queens, had been completed, she was placed and still stands in the dominant position at the head of the grand staircase in the Philadelphia Museum. White had an eight-foot cement model made by Walthausen for his country home at St. James, Long Island, and Saint-Gaudens, who allowed Tiffany's to make small bronze replicas, gave one to Stanford in December 1899. It was placed on a mantel, backed by a mirror and surrounded by Rococo decorations at the Gramercy Park town house on Twenty-first Street (Fig.11). Several other copies remain including one at "Aspet," the Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site, Cornish, N.H. (Fig.118).

Two commissions came from Chicago in the late 1890's, one for a standing Lincoln at $100,000 and another for a Major-General John A. Logan, later a U.S. Senator from Illinois, for $50,000.

There were problems in siting the Logan mainly because Olmsted wanted to keep bones out of the rural parks and because Burnham wanted a say in the form of the pedestal. Saint-Gaudens summed up both questions in an undated letter to "Dear Stan, I'll go on to try and find some other place. I have a suspicion that it is Burnham that don't like this treatment for the lake /sketch of a shallow pyramidal base for the statue/. I faintly recall his having suggested something of this character for the place /stepped pyramid/--Jesus Christ Almighty, what a nuisance. . . . Logan is represented as he is said to have ridden, encouraging his men at Peach-tree-Creek, bare-headed reining in a noble horse with the left hand, and holding outstretched in the right the heavy regimental flag."[44]

The all too famous standing Lincoln was reproduced on numerous occasions, once at the same heroic scale for Parliament Square, London, and earlier in 1897, at the instigation of McKim, who was restoring the White House, as a reduced version. Saint-Gaudens appreciated the latter honour, but was afraid of the effect of the reduction, a fear which he could well have ignored.

The last commission upon which White and Saint-Gaudens worked was the Philips Brooks Monument for the man who was minister of and helped build Trinity Church, Boston, and thus had known the assistants of Richardson and La Farge for a quarter-century. Contracts were signed on June 1, 1896,[45] and White produced a Medieval ciborium of half dome held up on six

marble Corinthian columns. Unveiling ceremonies were continually postponed (which was always the case with Saint-Gaudens, who sought perfection) and did not finally take place until January 1910. By then Stanford White and Augustus Saint-Gaudens were dead and the pedestal was completed by another partner, William Kendall. Augusta Saint-Gaudens came down from Cornish for the ceremonies and wrote Kendall on January 24, "I was very sorry not to see you after the unveiling on Saturday to tell you how very successful the architecture seemed to me. The test that my husband in a way would have applied to it is, that at first, one sees only the group, and then the beautiful architecture comes afterwards and is in no way overpowering. That is as it seems to me. . . ."[46] That is how White always tried to complement the sculpture of Saint-Gaudens and his other sculptor friends, and this is why he was invariably successful and why Saint-Gaudens and others continually returned for his advice and sympathetic handling of delicate architectural problems.

Discussing the Philips Brooks Monument in The Reminiscences, Homer Saint-Gaudnes felt it strange "that these two men who first worked together in Trinity Church, Boston, should have designed their last composition to go under the shadows of that building."[47]

FOOTNOTES

1. Op.cit., Boston, 1969.

2. Op.cit., New York, 1913.

3. Architectural Record 30 (1911): 107-16, 283-98, 399-406.

4. Tharp, p.318.

5. NYHS M&P, Sherman Statue, box M-8.

6. Ibid.

7. Dartmouth College Archives, Saint-Gaudens collection (hereinafter referred to as DCA).

8. DCA, letter, 15 July 1904.

9. DCA, letter from Windsor, Vermont, 5 May 1906.

10. See Helene Barbara Weinberg, "John La Farge and the Decoration of Trinity Church, Boston," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 33 (December 1974): 323-53, notably fig.22 and p.346.

11. Margaret Bouton, "Early Works of Augustus Saint-Gaudens." Doctoral dissertation, Radcliffe College, 1946, discusses the Renaissance influences notably on the Farragut, Chapter eleven.

12. Reminiscences, p.18.

13. NYHS M&P, St. Bartholomew's Church doors, box M-20, letter, 13 July 1906.

14. NYHS M&P, Sherman Statue, box M-8. There had been problems concerning the siting of the equestrian statue. The Evening Mail for April 11, 1900, objected to the siting on the round point at the end of the Mall in Central Park as a "disfigurement of the park" and a "defacement of the park. . . by an eminent sculptor. . . for no better reason than it is the most conspicuous site."

15. NYHS M&P, Sherman Statue, box M-8.

16. Tharp, p.274.

17. NYHS M&P, Boston Public Library, box M-9, letter dated 13 December 1934 from Kendall to Miss Maude L. Chambers, Art Department, East Illinois State Teachers' College. The contract for the two groups was signed on 30 November 1892 and delivery was to have been two years later.

Charles Freer eventually purchased the two bronze sketches from the Boston Public Library for $20,000 and Bela Pratt was commissioned to submit sculpture groups of Art and Science after the death of Saint-Gaudens. There are plaster copies at Aspet, New Hampshire.

18. NYHS M&P, Sherman Statue, box M-8. The McKim, Mead and White correspondence was haphazardly filed, sometimes in odd places.

19. NYHS M&P, Sherman Statue, box M-8, letter, 23 August 1905.

20. Saint-Gaudens incidentally refused to have anything to do with Mrs. Jack Gardner of Boston for similar reasons.

21. Tharp, p.309.

22. American Architect and Building News 10 (10 September 1881): 120.

23. Reminiscences, p.162.

24. Tharp, p.118.

25. Reminiscences, p.220.

26. Mariana Griswold Van Rensselaer, "Mr. St. Gaudens Statue of Admiral Farragut in New York," American Architect and Building News 10 (10 September 1881): 119-120.

27. NYHS M&P, Farragut Statue, box M-19.

28. Henry-Russell Hitchcock rather subjectively considered that White's "decorative contribution after 1880 was never again what it had been on the Farragut pedestal. Only in that minor work did he show a creative power comparable to Richardson." See H.-R. Hitchcock, Architecture, Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, Baltimore, 1963, p.213.

    Wayne Andrews described the statue as by Saint-Gaudens, but continued, "the pedestal foretelling the triumphs of Art Nouveau in Europe in the next decade, is mainly the achievement of Stanford White." See Wayne Andrews, Architecture in New York, New York, 1969, caption to an illustration of the Farragut.

29. Reminiscences, p.267.

30. Reminiscences, p.240.

31. Baldwin, p.128.

32. Margaret Bouton, "Early Works of Augustus Saint-Gaudens,"

p.405. She also suggests that Burne-Jones may have been the inspiration behind "Loyalty" and "Courage," p.410.

33. New York Sun, 9 April 1935, newspaper clipping in the Farragut file, M-19, NYHS M&P.

34. Baldwin, p.147.

35. Reminiscences, p.109.

36. Tharp, p.222.

37. NYHS M&P, Madison Square Garden, box M-20, letter dated 16 December 1924 from William M. Kendall to Lida Rose McCabe.

38. Reminiscences, p.393.

39. NYHS M&P, Miscellaneous file, box M-3.

40. Baldwin, p.210.

41. Buffalo Courier, 11 August 1896.

42. NYHS M&P, McKim Personal file.

43. New York Sun, 10 May 1925.

44. NYHS M&P, Sherman Statue, box M-8.

45. NYHS M&P, Philip Brooks Monument file, OMF467.

46. Ibid.

47. Reminiscences, pp.314-15.

CHAPTER SEVEN

STANFORD WHITE, FREDERICK MACMONNIES, PHILIP MARTINY AND OTHER SCULPTORS

The three great American sculptors at the turn of the century were Augustus Saint-Gaudens, Daniel Chester French and Frederick MacMonnies. Stanford White worked with all three, although with French only as an associate and supervisor of Andrew O'Connor's contribution to the St. Bartholomew's extensive porch sculptures. French and White knew each other well, however, the former sending a "little image" as a gift to White in March of 1902.[1] Another of French's pupils was Edward C. Potter who worked with O'Connor on the reliefs of McKim's Morgan Library.

Two assistants of Saint-Gaudens collaborated with White. The first, Philip Martiny, a wood carver with Saint-Gaudens on the George B. Post Vanderbilt mansion and later a carver of the rich cornices of McKim's Agriculture Building, Chicago, 1893, created a relief for the seal of New York University, 1896, and sculptures for the New York Life Insurance Company Building at 346 Broadway, 1897, and the State Savings Bank of Detroit the following year. During his early years in Italy, Frederick MacMonnies, the second protege of Saint-Gaudens, sent an undated letter to "My dear White," saying that "I received the $1000 by cable from my brother today. . . and I once more have to

thank you for saving my life. You have done it so often it is becoming quite natural."[2] White designed the base of the Nathan Hale sculpture, 1889, the James Stranaham, 1891 and MacMonnies carved the spandrels of White's Washington Arch, pediments for the Bowery Savings Bank, the base of a flagpole for the Cataract Construction Company, Niagara Falls, and a Victory for the West Point Monument. During 1904 and 1905 White again contributed pedestals for two equestrian statues for Brooklyn, one of Major General Slocum and the other of Major General John B. Woodward.

Louis, brother of Augustus Saint-Gaudens, worked with White on the chancel of the Church of the Ascension, New York, and with a whole group of artists on the Church of St. Paul the Apostle, sometimes known as the Church of the Paulist Fathers, Columbus Avenue at Fifty-ninth Street. The porch of St. Bartholomew's on Park Avenue was another major group project with O'Connor, Martiny and also Herbert Adams. A pupil of Martiny, Hermon A. McNeil, was a Reinhard scholar of 1896 at McKim's American Academy in Rome. After White's death he was associated with Alexander Stirling Calder on the Washington Arch sculptures, a programme originally agreed upon between MacMonnies and White. Adolph A. Weinman contributed the pediment sculptures to White's Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church; Antonin Carles, the Minerva for the Herald Building; and A. Phimister Proctor, the panthers at the West Park and Third Street entrance to Prospect Park (Fig.119), Brooklyn. The Piccirilli Brothers, Giulio and Attilio, famous for carving

with pointing machines the 170 tons of Georgia marble for Daniel Chester French's Lincoln at Henry Bacon's Lincoln Memorial, translated many of the sculptures which White commissioned from plaster models into the finished products.

The role of architectural sculptor, that is a sculptor who embellishes an architectural edifice with either classical or other stylistic detailing to the architect's specifications, or figure sculptures, was a means of advancement seized upon by many a young sculptor. Philip Martiny's statuary on the tower of the New York Life Insurance Company Building (Figs. 63, 120) was of this order of commission and only $2,800 was paid him for models of the kneeling male figure six feet high and supporting a globe (now removed), bells and eagles.[3] An additional sum of $340 was paid him for ceiling motifs of eagles.[4] (Fig.121) Likewise the three bronze eagles nine feet high and with a wing span of twelve feet, modelled and cast by Louis Saint-Gaudens for the Omaha, Kansas City and St. Paul regional offices of New York Life, were agreed upon for $4,500, in a quotation dated October 15, 1880.[5] Ten years later the Henry Bonnard Bronze Company offered to cast the eagles at $1,400 each. Even with reduced labour costs ten years earlier, this would not have left too much profit for the sculptor's artistic ability. At the State Savings Bank of Detroit, built during 1898, Martiny offered to model a group for the top of the one storey building consisting of two figures, 9'6" high, standing on either side of a big cartouche with garlands, in all about fourteen feet wide for $850 in plaster or $2,150 in

bronze. He offered a small sketch of the same for $100.[6] When it is realized what prices were charged by successful sculptors, these were mean pickings in comparison. But even the expensive commission given to Saint-Gaudens did not make him a wealthy man as is seen in a letter to McKim on December 29, 1902, ten years after the Sherman monument contract had been signed and when numerous modifications were being demanded by the Committee. From Cornish, New Hampshire, Saint-Gaudens wrote, "The point is that I will put no more money out of my pocket on it. When I consider that I am 54 years old, that I've worked like a nigger all my life and that all I have to show is this shanty here and $3,000.00 in the bank--I feel it is time to draw the line-- Two or three moderate fortunes have gone through my hands in this lavishness on my work and I am tired of it. This is meant to explain why I may seem to be so Goddam parsimonious, nothing more. I'm not whining. I'm kicking."[7]

The early commissions of MacMonnies led him to fame and fortune, so that in 1915 he was able to announce his temporary retirement from sculpture commissions. He worked with speed and vigor, leaving his sculpture to appear unfinished. Criticism of this kind was leveled at the Nathan Hale, for which White produced, as his contribution to the memorial fund, a simple cylindrical base with classical mouldings at top and bottom, a bronze inlay wreath and factual information about Hale (Fig.122).

MacMonnies was born in Brooklyn, to which he contributed numerous sculptures in and around Prospect Park and Grand Army

Plaza (Figs.123-125). The first figure was of James S.T. Stranahan, the founder of the Park. The standing sculpture faces the Plaza from the entrance to the Park on a similar pedestal to that of Hale, but squared off instead of cylindrical. "I am getting the Stranahan well on the way," MacMonnies announced to White on August 9, 1890, "And I write to know whether it is possible to make it 9 or nearly 9 feet high--and have the pedestal very low? say 5 feet. I think that no matter what place they give it in the park--that it will lose in size and I think he ought to be about 9 feet. . . ."[8] Stranahan certainly doesn't look that high but perhaps this was a foresight by MacMonnies, who got a pedestal equally as high as the figure. Undoubtedly the two men worked at the problem of scale. Unfortunately a single piece of correspondence provides only a fragmentary view of a limited aspect of a total work of art. Little documentary evidence exists relating to the sculptured pediments for the Bowery Savings Bank, the flagpole for the Cataract Construction Company, Niagara Falls, or the Battle Monument at West Point Military Academy. Discussing other works by MacMonnies, Wayne Craven states "In one part of the studio /in Paris/ stood the models for the pedimental sculptures for the Bowery Savings Bank, while in another was the study for the winged, trumpet-blowing maiden, in quasi-classical attire, that personified Victory and was destined for a monument at West Point."[9] Each of the two Bowery pediments consists of two reclining nude figures, on either side of a central clock, with two lions filling in the acute angles of the pediment (Figs.126-131). At West Point,

the Victory stood on a sphere, atop a Roman Doric Column which in turn stood on a podium surrounded by elaborate pedestals, supporting spheres flanked by small bronze cannons. The flagpole at Niagara Falls was illustrated in the September 28, 1895 American Architect and Building News, a decorative base of swags, medallions, ribbons, flames, globes, sheep's heads and a wreath.

Correspondence exists from MacMonnies to White concerning pedestals for General Slocum, 1904, (Fig.132) and General Woodward, 1905. MacMonnies confided on December 8, 1902, "I have as you know absolute confidence in your judgment and all your work and all your pedestals. . . better than the statues on them,"[10] and again he requested a low pedestal for the Slocum. Another sculptor was required to supply four shields and eagles to be placed on the pedestal where they can still be seen. MacMonnies suggested Martiny; Adolph Weinman offered plaster casts for $1,000; but M.R. Giusti seems to have been commissioned, bidding at $300.[11]

As opposed to the Slocum, the Woodward statue could stand a good high pedestal, White was informed in 1905.[12] He chose a polished Cape Ann granite and symbolic reliefs were applied to the following written descriptions: "One bas-relief representing Military Duty especially as exemplified in the Citizen Soldier or National Guard. As prominent ideas, Patriotism, Security, Maintenance of Public Order. Perhaps in background, represented in profile, a regiment marching to war

with the then Colonel Woodward at the head. Also artistically composed cannon, sword, musket, knapsack and other accoutrements. Allegorical figure representing the Idea. Inscription: --Protection, Order, Security. Another bas-relief representing Public Spirit or Civic Duty, the idea to be suggested being, activity in promoting public improvement and the general welfare. Perhaps in the background an outline more or less distinct of the Museum Building and the Brooklyn City Hall, suggesting in part or whole a view of the Park or Shore Drive. Containing insignia of Civic public life, such as table books, scrolls, plus column. Coat of arms of Brooklyn: Allegorical figure representing the Idea. Inscription:--Good Citizenship, Public Spirit, Civic Duty."[13]

Such was the public attitude to civic leaders and war heroes at the period following the centennial of the birth of the United States, the period of the glorification of Civil War heroes and the period marking the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus. The inauguration of President George Washington in New York on May 1, 1789, was commemorated at the centennial by spectacular parades, attended by governors and lieutenant-governors of all states of the Union, massive bands, regiments and appropriate addresses. William Rhinelander Stewart and sixty-five residents of the area of Washington Square decided to erect a papier-mache arch leading from Fifth Avenue into the Square (Fig.133). The American Architect and Building News described Stanford White's

arch on May 18, 1889, as "A simple round arch, spanning the Street, resting on paralleled rectangular piers and crowned by a modillioned cornice and a balustrade was the motive, which would have been bare and cold but for a certain grace of proportion and an evident harmony with its surroundings." "Notwithstanding the rapidity and sketchiness of its execution," wrote Clarence Winthrop Bowen in The Centennial Celebration of the Inauguration of George Washington,[14] "this arch was a really beautiful object, and excited general interest both on and after the days of the parades. . . and its unexpected beauty created a sentiment in favor of perpetuating so fine a monument. . . ." A heroic archaic wooden statue of Washington, now owned by the Delaware Historical Society, stood on top of the arch, and was originally "said to have been erected on the Battery in 1792, the first statue in the city."[15] Stewart, originator of the idea, became treasurer of the Washington Arch Committee and raised $40,000 by May 31, 1889, and $80,000 by May 1890, and Norcross Brothers agreed to build it for $111,900 with Guastavino Brothers providing the tile roof and MacMonnies the four spandrels and sculptures of Washington (Fig.134). The four spandrels were actually carved by Piccirilli Brothers for $2,350 although MacMonnies was paid $14,000 for their design and execution[16] (Fig.135). On the north side of the arch the faces of two of the spandrel figures were representations of Mrs. Stewart and Mrs. White. Although the arch is closer in feeling to what Robert Adam, rather than a Roman architect, would have designed, White didn't want it too effeminate. Writing to MacMonnies on November 8, 1893, he explained, "I

duly got the studies of the spandrels, but they bother me in certain ways a good deal. The Arch, as you know, is a very severe, classical design, and it strikes me that the character of the sketches belong rather to something in the style of Louis XIV or Louis XV--or some of the modern French work which is being done.

"I dislike the leg up in the air very much, and the figures seem to me meagre--not to fill up the panels in the robust way they should. I also think the relief should be higher. Of course, you must take everything I say 'cum grano salis,' because I am an Architect, and it may be bad taste in me but, I would really like here a thoroughly quiet, severe and architectural treatment of sculpture. . . ."[17]

By April 30, 1895, the arch was structurally complete and the decoration begun. At the attic level of the north side was carved "To Commemorate the One Hundredth Anniversary of the inauguration of this City of George Washington as first President of the United States," and a quotation made by Washington himself, was carved on the south face, "Let us raise a standard to which the Wise and the Honest can repair. The event is in the Hands of God. Erected by the people of the City of New York." Philip Martiny added the eagle, wings outstretched above the keystone bracket at the apex of the arch, forty-seven feet above the pavement; the arch was thirty feet wide and had a total height of seventy-seven feet. On May 4, 1895, General Horace Porter gave a speech objecting that "the

true purpose of this work is not the display of architectural skill, but the perpetuation of the memory of the exalted patriot who founded this republic."[18] Two sculptures of Washington--one showing him as a soldier of about forty years of age, supported by figures of Valor and Fame, and the other as a statesman of about sixty, in court dress, bareheaded as if delivering an address, supported by Wisdom and Justice--were to be placed on east and west pedestals, respectively, on the north side of the arch. Sketches were made by MacMonnies and delivered to White. Final versions were to be almost fifteen feet high of White Dover marble for which MacMonnies wanted $35,000. The sketches were considered too elaborate and the price too high. MacMonnies was living in Paris, thus White suggested employing Hermon A. McNeil for the east (Fig.136) and Alexander Stirling Calder for the west (Fig.137) pedestals. At the death of White in 1906 the matter was left in abeyance until December 6, 1913, when W.R. Stewart, treasurer, and Clarence W. Bowen, secretary of the Washington Arch Committee, wrote to the Tribune suggesting that an appeal be launched for $35,000 for the sculptures.[19] Each sculptor was to receive $15,000. On March 25, 1914, MacMonnies asked of Stewart "enlightenment of a report reaching him in which his sculptures of 1896 were described as being by McNeil and Calder."[20] MacMonnies argued that he had been given the commission, pending the raising of funds.

William Kendall, who in the office of McKim, Mead and White was responsible for the commission, wrote Stewart on May 18, 1914,

that no record or letter of agreement existed and "even if it is as he states, we do not think that an offer of this kind can be held open indefinitely."[21] His designs were tentative, and, argued Kendall, the subject was suggested by the committee. MacMonnies threatened McNeil, on July 22, to publish the facts of the plagiarism. McNeil answered that neither he nor Calder had ever seen the MacMonnies sketches and Stewart claimed that he originally suggested the subjects.[22] And there the matter ended. MacMonnies was wealthy and famous and really had nothing to lose to McNeil and Calder. Again Piccirilli Brothers at 463 East 142nd Street did the carving by pointing machines and the official unveiling was on Washington's birthday, February 22, 1918.

Another monument of the revolutionary era designed by White was the Prison Ship Martyrs Monument, Fort Greene, Brooklyn (Fig.138). After the battle of Long Island a British gunboat under the command of Provost Marshall William Cunningham was used to house the 4,000 prisoners and was anchored off Wallabout Bay. During a six-year period from 1776 to 1782, increasing numbers of rebel prisoners were housed in like manner, and in all, 11,500 of them died. At least 2,000 of them had been starved to death by Cunningham's own admission--just prior to his being hanged in Britain as his just reward for forgery.[23]

During 1904 a limited competition for the monument was held between McKim, Mead and White, Carrere and Hastings and Lord and Hewlett with Augustus Saint-Gaudens, Henry Bacon and Whitney

Warren as jurors, a loaded jury if ever there was one, even if not by intent. Saint-Gaudens was friend and collaborator, Bacon an assistant in the firm from 1888 to 1897, and both would readily have recognized the hand of White. (In addition to this, a similar design by White for the Bicentennial Memorial Association of Detroit, Michigan, in the form of a Doric column, had already been published.[24] Detroit was founded July 24, 1701, by Chevalier de la Motte Cadillac and a committee headed by Charles L. Freer and Frank J. Hecker wanted to raise one million dollars for a monument for Belle Isle in the Detroit River. White's design was to consist of a tripod with torchlight on top of the column, supporting colonnades and a statue of Cadillac, all to the approval of Saint-Gaudens and MacMonnies. Unfortunately the agreed sum of money could not be raised.) Henry Bacon communicated the jurors' opinion to Robert D. Benedict, chairman of the Prison Ship Martyrs Monument Committee, on February 3, 1905, announcing that the jurors were unanimous in their decision of the superiority of the Greek Doric column design, because it was "larger than the largest memorial column erected in ancient times,"[25] 143 feet high including the tripod above the platform. Of the two other projects, one was an obelisk with sculpture at its base, considered to be inferior to that of other similar monuments in this country, although of artistic merit, but lacking the grandeur of its predecessors, and the other was a Roman Doric column and statue, inferior in scale to the other two projects. The winning Greek Doric column was by White and the stone laying took place on October 26, 1907. Congress had appropriated

$200,000; New York City, $50,000; New York State, $25,000; and a further $25,000 was raised by public subscription. The shaft of the column was Newport white granite, the steps of Deer Island granite and the internal staircase of Guastavino vault construction. November 18, 1908 was the day of dedication, with an oration by President-Elect William Howard Taft, and a poem by Thomas Walsh in the presence of 40,000 people, including the Secretary of War, Governor of New York and Mayor of the City.[26]

Church decoration was another means of artistic collaboration, as White well knew from his days in the office of H.H. Richardson and the project for Trinity Church, Boston. La Farge, who had been the co-ordinator of the internal decorations there, was also in charge of a similar scheme of decoration at the Church of the Ascension by Richard Upjohn, 1840-41, on Fifth Avenue at Tenth Street. Dr. E. Winchester Donald became rector of the church in 1882, and later in 1893, rector of Trinity Church, Boston. Donald must have known of the Richardson-LaFarge association on Trinity and in 1893 wanted to retain White as the architect in succession to Richardson instead of Shepley, Rutan and Coolidge. As rector of Ascension, he sought advice from White and La Farge. The architectural setting of the chancel and reredos are by White; La Farge eventually completed the large altar mural and Louis Saint-Gaudens the marble altar relief. The whole was a gift to the church by a member who lived in the area, Miss Rhinelander, aunt of William Rhinelander Stewart.

La Farge and White also masterminded the interior of the Church of the Paulist Fathers on Columbus Avenue at Fifty-ninth Street, designed by Jeremiah O'Rourke in 1876. The church was built as St. Paul the Apostle, from stone obtained at the old Croton Aqueduct at One Hundredth Street, and the towers from the dismantled reservoir at Forty-second Street in the position where the New York Public Library now stands; it was completed in 1885 and in 1892 O'Rourke became Supervising Architect of the Treasury Department. Father Isaac Thomas Hecker of Brook Farm fame consecrated the church in 1885, employing a host of artists for internal furnishings and decorations. La Farge painted the ceiling with stars and planned stained glass for twenty-two clerestory windows, attempting to create a transition from the brownstone Romanesque below and a roofless effect above. White designed the high altar with marble from an old monastery at Sienna, Algerian onyx and alabaster mosaics (Fig. 139). Eight columns of porphyry support a golden baldacchino and above this are three kneeling adoring angels, the first commission of MacMonnies. Martiny added the suspended lamp and White, in addition,designed minor altars to St. Joseph and the Blessed Virgin Mary. Robert Reid added murals of St. Paul's martyrdom in the chapel dedicated to that saint and Bela Pratt, later to create the external sculptures for the Boston Public Library, did the Virgin of the Annunciation in the chapel of that name.[27]

Even greater in concept than the church of the Paulist Fathers was the portico for the wealthy church on the northwest corner

of Madison Avenue and Forty-fourth Street, St. Bartholomew's, by Renwick and Sands, 1872. It was the Medieval Lombardic style with campanile to which White added a portico and wall above to merge into the Venetian Gothic arches. The church no longer stands and the portico was removed to the new St. Bartholomew's, designed by Bertram Goodhue in 1919, on the east side of Park Avenue between Fiftieth and Fifty-first Streets (Fig.140).

The whole composition was based upon the Romanesque church porch of St. Gilles du Gard, Provence, France, and the twenty-four Cippolino marble columns and stone Corinthian capitals were carved by a Mr. Buehler, an architectural sculptor, working for B.A. and G.N. Williams, a firm specializing in capitals and architectural carving. Sculptors included O'Connor, under the supervision of French for the center door (Fig.141), tympanum and frieze; Herbert Adams for the north door, tympanum (Fig.142), and lintol on the left (Fig.143); and Philip Martiny for the right-hand door, tympanum (Fig.144) and lintol and four additional saints in niches between columns. O'Connor's central tympanum represented the Apotheosis and coronation of Christ; the flanking friezes, of Adam and Eve, the expulsion, the murder of Abel, the Israelites in bondage led out by Moses, Christ and the Virgin in procession, the wise men, the flight from Egypt and the way to Calvary. Russell Sturgis, in an article entitled "A Fine Work of American Architectural Sculpture," considered O'Connor here Rodin-ish, especially the "emaciated saints and suffering martyrs"

similar to the "Burghers of Calais."[28] French apologized for the "Rodinesque style of sculpture,"[29] but Saint-Gaudens was enthusiastic. "I want to congratulate you," he wrote to White on November 28, 1903, "O'Connor's work is a revelation to me; it is very fine and he, at last is a fellow who must be counted with."[30] The central door consisted of the four evangelists and the four prophets from whom they realized their greatest prophecy. Thus St. Matthew is supported by Jeremiah, St. Luke by Nehemiah, St. John by Isaiah and St. Mark by Daniel, above which is the Annunciation and adoration and below Sibylla, Delphic, Persian, Eretrian and Cumean, the way to and descent from the Cross.

Herbert Adams' tympanum was Renaissance in the style of Luca Della Robia and represented the Madonna and infant Christ supported by kneeling angels, below which a lintol depicted The Passing of Patriarchs into Egypt. The door itself had four central panels of Saints Andrew, Peter, Paul and Barnabas, surrounded at upper left with the Transfiguration; upper right, the descent of the Spirit upon Paul on the road to Damascus; lower left, Peter addressing the Centurion and his kinsmen; and right, the preaching of Paul at Philippi and the conversion of Lydia, all illustrating the carrying of the Word into the world.

Philip Martiny's tympanum depicted two angels adoring the infant Christ and Saint John the Baptist; the lintol, the route

to Calvary, comparable and derived from the Shaw Monument of Saint-Gaudens; and the bronze door, Saints Philip, James, Andrew and Bartholomew. Upper panels of the door showed Pentecost and the Apostles with the Virgin re-united and the descent of the Holy Ghost, while the lower panels depicted Christ on Mount Olivet betrayed by Judas. In addition, circular panels contained heads of cherubs and the door handles were shaped as fantastic satanical lizards and dragon figures. Martiny was also responsible for four large statues in niches flanked by columns in the two spaces between the three doors. At first, Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt, who was paying about fifty thousand dollars to the sculptors, in addition to the architectural back-drop, as a memorial to the Commodore, objected to these sculptures by Martiny as unsatisfactory but did not want the work turned over to O'Connor; this correspondence dates from 1903.[31] On March 18, 1907, one of the Vanderbilt children wrote that Mrs. Vanderbilt "finds the two statues prepared by Martiny quite satisfactory and in keeping with the other doors."[32] Apparently O'Connor had agreed to make sketches for the niches but on September 1, 1906, declined to do so; "The photographs of the model which I made for one of the statues was sent before the news of White's murder reached me. The statue was made for Mr. White alone. Now that he is dead I do not wish to go on with the work or to be considered as having anything to do with it."[33]

The doors had been consecrated much earlier on May 1, 1903, but even prior to that, the whole composition was winning rave

notices. Saint-Gaudens wrote on November 7, 1902, "Dear Stan, . . . I think it one of the finest things you have done and that's saying a good deal old man."[34] Cass Gilbert on October 25, 1902, termed it "an epoch making work of art. I have seen nothing on this side of the water which has given me more the impression of vigorous, creative spirit than this frieze. . . . I feel a sense of personal obligation to you, somehow---that you have given us a thing of such charm and beauty, and I want you to know it."[35]

O'Connor's contribution must have been one of his largest and most outstanding commissions, which apparently did not lead on to better and greater things. Thereafter he worked on several smaller commissions for White. He made some models of infants for the Robert W. Patterson house, Chicago, in 1901,[36] and was paid $3,000 for six spandrels in the Payne Whitney house, 972 Fifth Avenue, in 1903. In the same house, Adolph Weinman produced a stair newel as a base for a marble group "Eagle with Boy," three turtles in harmony with an antique fountain, shields for the fireplace and a plaster ceiling in the entrance hall, cherubs for a canopy in the bathroom, and a lion head, all for a total of about $3,000.[37] O'Connor was also paid $1,500 for a sculpture of Aesculapius,[38] given by Colonel Oliver Hazard Payne for the entrance to the Cornell University Medical College at First Avenue between Twenty-seventh and Twenty-eighth Streets, New York City, 1903, and in 1901 had offered to complete eight statues in Indiana limestone, 9'6" tall, for the same college building for $7,000.[39] John Massey Rhind

heard that $12,000 had been allotted for sculptures in the contract and inquired about carving the eight figures, but neither seems to have been given the commission as the money was withheld as an economy measure.

When the Gorham Building (Fig.64) was begun on Fifth Avenue at Thirty-sixth Street, O'Connor was requested to make twenty-six ornamental figures, heads and other decorations for the ground floor spandrels at a grand total of $17,600.[40] One can only assume that the two lions on either side of a cartouche (Fig. 145) which peer down on to Fifth Avenue from the sixth storey cornice level, are by him.

Antonin Carles is possibly less known than O'Connor and Weinman, whose names do not appear in Wayne Craven's lengthy survey of Sculpture in America.[41] The small, triangular park in Herald Square at the intersection of Broadway, Sixth Avenue, Thirty-fourth and Thirty-fifth Streets has a sculpture of Minerva and two men who occasionally appear to strike a bell, done by Carles.(Fig.146). They are sculptures which once crowned Stanford White's Herald Building, 1894. Carles was a French sculptor who exhibited the Minerva at the Paris Salon in 1894. The two bell ringers were meant to appear to strike the 2,200-pound bell made by the Meneely Bell Company, Troy, New York, at noon, one, four, and six a.m.. Twenty-six four-foot-high owls sat around the edge of the roof, one at each corner of bronze, wings outstretched, and the remainder of copper, spaced evenly around the irregular trapezoidal building.

Howland of the Herald took McKim up to see the Minerva and Bell Ringers, as he reported to White on December 22, 1892, "He says the whole combination superb ornament of the city and ahead of Diana. . . /and/ will complete /the/ success /of the/ building."[42]

Those sculptors who had worked with Stanford White and were still alive in 1919 offered a supreme tribute to the architect who had nurtured the talents of so many of them. A meeting was held on December 1, 1919, at the Century Club where it was decided to erect a pair of bronze doors on the entrance to White's library of the Bronx campus of New York University (Fig.147), to be modeled by sculptors formerly associated with White. The Gorham Manufacturing Company offered to make the doors at cost, estimated at $15,000,[43] and Attillio Piccirilli and Ardolino Di Lorenzo offered to aid in the casting. Eight panels were to be the main features of the center of the doors and each would be filled with figures representing the qualities of Stanford White as an architect and his interests in the other arts. Thus James W. O'Connor modeled "Inspiration" and "Generosity" for the top two panels; Herbert Adams, "Painting" and "Sculpture" in the next two panels; Martin, "Architecture" and "Decoration"; and the bottom pair, by Adolph Weinman, "Music" and "Drama," with a pair of lion head handles by Ulysses Ricci (Fig.148). A memorial meeting for this dedication was held on December 10, 1921, at which time tributes were made by Elmer Ellsworth Brown, Chancellor of New York University, Thomas Hastings, Chairman of the Memorial

Fund, and Royal Cortissoz, the art critic.[44]

FOOTNOTES

1. NYHS MSS, D.C. French file, letter from French to White, 14 March 1902.

2. NYHS M&P, MacMonnies file, box M-13, cable, 1 August 1887.

3. NYHS M&P, New York Life Insurance Company Building, (boxes 115-23, and M-8, 151-3) box 152, contract dated 18 February 1896.

4. Ibid., letter dated 11 January 1896, from Martiny to McKim, Mead and White.

5. Ibid., M-8, quotation dated 15 October 1880.

6. NYHS M&P, Philip Martiny file M-13, quotations dated 12 and 17 November, and 12 December 1898.

7. NYHS M&P, Sherman Statue, letter, 29 December 1902.

8. NYHS M&P, Stanford White personal file.

9. Wayne Craven, Sculpture in America, New York, 1968, p.425.

10. NYHS M&P, Slocum Monument, box M-8.

11. Ibid., undated bid.

12. NYHS M&P, Woodward Statue, box 642, letter MacMonnies to White, 4 May 1905.

13. Ibid., box 642.

14. Op.Cit., New York, 1889, p.407.

15. Baldwin, White, p.194.

16. NYHS M&P, Washington Arch, boxes OMF 204-5.

17. Ibid.

18. Baldwin, White, p.196.

19. NYHS M&P, Washington Arch, box 205, newspaper clipping.

20. Ibid., letter, 25 March 1914.

21. Ibid., letter, 18 May 1914.

22. Ibid., letter Stewart to Kendall, 11 November 1914.

23. "City to Restore Memorial to Prisoners of British," New York Times, Sunday, 18 June 1972, p.60.

24. See W. Hawkins Ferry, The Building of Detroit: A History, Detroit, 1968, p.245.

25. NYHS M&P, Prison Ship Martyrs Monuments, box M-12.

26. All the above information from material in box M-12, and New York Times, 18 June 1972, p.60.

27. See Charles H. Dorr, "A Study of Church Decoration, the Paulist Father's Church in New York City and Notes on the Work of W.L. Harris," Architectural Record 33 (March 1913): 187-203; Helene Barbara Winberg, "The Work of John La Farge in the Church of St. Paul the Apostle," American Art Journal 6 (1974): 18-34. The latter article emphasizes the work of La Farge to the exclusion of his collaborators.

28. Russell Sturgis, "A Fine Work of American Sculpture," Architectural Record 15 (April 1904): 293-311.

29. NYHS M&P, St. Bartholomew's Church Doors, box M-20, letter from French to W.R. Mead, 13 July 1906.

30. Ibid., letter 28 November 1903.

31. Ibid., letter to White, 24 November 1903.

32. Ibid., letter, A. Vanderbilt to McKim, Mead and White.

33. Ibid., letter O'Connor to McKim, Mead and White.

34. Ibid., letter to White.

35. NYHS MSS, Stanford White collection, Andrew O'Connor folder, letter, 12 December 1904.

36. NYHS M&P, letter discovered in the Cornell Medical College file, No.218, letter from O'Connor to White, 30 August 1901.

37. NYHS M&P, Whitney box 508, contract, 10 March 1903.

38. NYHS M&P, Cornell Medical College, box 218, contract dated 30 June 1903.

39. Ibid., letter from O'Connor to McKim, Mead and White, 7 October 1901.

40. NYHS M&P, Gorham building file M-16, letter from O'Connor, 12 December 1904.

41. Wayne Craven, Sculpture in America, New York, 1968.

42. NYHS M&P, Herald Building, box M-20, letter from G. Howland of the Herald to Stanford White.

43. NYHS M&P, New York University file M-18.

44. Elmer Ellsworth Brown, Thomas Hastings and Royal Cortissoz, Memorial Meeting in Honor of the Late Stanford White, New York, 1921.

CHAPTER EIGHT

MURDER AND EPILOGUE

On the evening of June 25, 1906, Stanford White took his son Lawrence Grant White and LeRoy King, his son's under-graduate Harvard friend, to dine at the Cafe Martin. Thereafter the three of them went to the New Amsterdam Roof Garden, where Stanford left the two boys, to proceed alone to a premier performance of "Mamzelle Champagne" on the roof of Madison Square Gardens. Arriving later than White were Harry Kendall Thaw, his wife Evelyn Nesbit Thaw and two acquaintances. At the time they decided to leave, Thaw moved away from his guests, walked over to the table where White was sitting alone and shot him three times, twice through the shoulder and once through the eye into the brain, killing White instantly. McKim's biographer Charles Moore termed Thaw a "crazed profligate, whose great wealth was used to besmirch his victim's memory during the series of notorious trials that ensued."[1] Gerald Langford in The Murder of Stanford White, came to the conclusion that Thaw was a "sadistic paranoiac" who was goaded into murder by "a silly child. . . a tigress" of a wife, who claimed to have had relations with Stanford White prior to her marriage.[2] Saint-Gaudens summed up the situation immediately in a letter of July 6, 1906: "An idiot that shoots a man of great genius for a woman with the face of an angel and the heart of a snake."[3]

That Stanford White had affairs with women other than his wife

there is no question. Saint-Gaudens admitted as much when discussing his own relationship to Davida Johnson Clark, and the relationships of a mutual friend Frederick MacMonnies. To ignore or claim otherwise would be to emasculate White. But in the months following the murder, the vilest of lies were perpetrated in order to defend a "ne'er-do-well." Few came to White's rescue publicly, but Richard Harding Davis had this to say in a lengthy article in Collier's Weekly, August 18, 1906: "In New York it is impossible for the poor man, the rich man, the man of taste and the man with none, to walk abroad without being indebted to Stanford White, for something that was good and uplifting. . . . The misfortune was that Stanford White died in such a manner that the last moment of his career blunted people to the years that had gone before, and they judged him by those who for the instant dragged him to their level, not by what the man himself had been or by what he himself had accomplished."[4] The New York Evening Post obituary on July 7, 1906, claimed that "in actual creative quality, probably only Richardson among American architects was his equal."[5]

It was also resolved "That the Executive Committee of the New York Chapter of the American Institute of Architects, The Society of Beaux Arts Architects and the Architectural League of New York, desire in the name of their respective societies to express their sense of the great loss which the Profession and the Art of Architecture have sustained in the death of Stanford White.

"His quick and generous appreciation of all that is beautiful, even beyond the field of his immediate profession, was so generous that the influence of his work will long continue to be a stimulus to the artistic development of this country.

"Only those of us who have been closely associated with him professionally can fully appreciate the love and enthusiasm with which he devoted himself to Art.

"His was a commanding personality and whatever he produced had the touch of genius."[6]

After Lawrence Grant White's Sketches and Designs of Stanford White was published in 1921, Cass Gilbert wrote on February 27, 1922, that he was enthusiastic about the book: "You know I am sure how greatly I admired him and his work. He was my dear friend. He is one of the few men of our time who had genius-- He was an inspiration to me."[7]

FOOTNOTES

1. Op.cit., p.297.

2. Op.cit., p.270.

3. NYHS MSS, letter to McKim.

4. Quoted in the American Architect and Building News 90 (18 August 1906): 54.

5. Ibid.

6. NYHS M&P, Stanford White miscellaneous file M-3 (first of two folders).

7. NYHS MSS, Cass Gilbert folder.

POSTSCRIPT

In order to assess the significance of Stanford White in the history of American architecture seventy years after his death, he must be considered both with relation to the academic and historical ideals which he forwarded and as part of the architectural output of the firm of McKim, Mead and White. White and McKim collaborated on many commissions and thus it is the contribution of the firm and its position in the history of architecture which is perhaps as relevant as an evaluation of the importance of Stanford White. The individual designers within the firm are also inextricably linked to the movements, forces, theories and architectural practice of the period. Thus, a considered judgement of White is to a certain extent an analysis of the firm and an evaluation of the architectural movements of the period.

White's murder in 1906 made him both famous and infamous. The narrow-minded holier-than-thou newspaper obituaries and articles which appeared have long since been re-evaluated by the broad-minded attitudes of the post second World War era. Harry K. Thaw is no longer viewed as the wronged husband whose wife Edith was deflowered by Stanford White prior to marriage. Rather, the Thaws are seen as a scheming pair bent on justifiable homicide for their own private gain. A perusal of the evidence presented at the trial and gathered together in Gerald Langford's The Murder of Stanford White, 1962, shows the thinness of the evidence, the dishonesty of Edith and the gullibility

of the public of the early twentieth century.

"As a consequence" of the murder, White "has become posthumously the most prolific architect who ever lived," according to Brendan Gill in the New York Times Magazine article of 19 October 1975, entitled "True White From False."[1] Gill complains that real-estate advertisements use the name of White as a selling point and that "six architects working day and night for a century" could not have produced a fraction of the buildings attributed to Stanford White. Few of these suggested designs reflect his ability or personality. A private house in the East Seventies is ascribed to White as a hideaway for Edith and yet was built in the 1870's. Gill also lists two hotels, the Seville, on Madison Avenue at Twenty-ninth Street, 1901-04, by H.A. Jacobs, and the Ansonia, 2107 Broadway, 1899-1904, by Paul E.M. DuBoy.[2] Whitney Warren's New York Yacht Club on West Forty-fourth Street, 1899, is included, and so too is C.P. H. Gilbert's DeLamar Mansion (now the National Democratic Club), on Madison Avenue at Thirty-seventh Street, 1905.

Numerous other structures have been attributed to White throughout the United States, some obvious copies, but many wide of the mark. The National Bank of Salem, Oregon, is such a case, where a local architect McNally was copying a design by a famous East Coast architect, Frank Furness of Philadelphia.[3] White was notorious because of newspaper reporters' investigations and imaginary inventiveness at the time of his death, and indirectly his name has been associated with works of his contemporaries.

There is also no doubt that White's ability as a designer has gained wider credence as his architecture recedes further into the historic past and can thus be more objectively assessed. It was his generation of romantics, followers of Richardson in particular and the High Victorian Gothic in general, which rediscovered classicism partly through the Queen Anne revival. The Chicago World's Columbia Exposition of 1893, was a product of that generation and McKim was the designer of the Agriculture Building and the New York State Building.

This in turn led Louis Sullivan to state that "the damage wrought by the World's Fair will last for half a century from its date, if not longer."[4] Such a statement from the lieber meister of Frank Lloyd Wright had an impact on architectural historians "for half a century from its date, if not longer."

Leland Roth in his doctoral dissertation on the firm's work points out that Henry-Russell Hitchcock modified his subjective negative view concerning White in his biography of Richardson from the first edition of 1936 to the revised edition of 1961. With White's departure from Richardson's office in 1878, he "left the position of a one-eyed minister to become king among the blind" having "learned from Richardson almost nothing," was Hitchcock's opinion in 1936, but omitted in 1961.[5] James Marston Fitch was also negative towards academic architecture in the 1948 edition of his American Building: The Historical Forces That Shaped It, published in Boston: the 1966 edition tended to modify and omit certain passages.

Hitchcock's attitudes must have changed well before 1961, and possibly within a decade after the first edition of the Richardson biography. In 1944, the Warburg and Courtauld Institute Journal published his "Frank Lloyd Wright and the Academic Tradition of the Early 1890's"[6] in which he traced the early career of Wright, an academic romantic historicist of the 1890's. Wright's George Blossom house, 4858 Kenwood Avenue, Chicago, 1892, was almost an exact copy of the H.A.C. Taylor house, Annadale Road, Newport, Rhode Island, designed 1882-84, and constructed 1885-86, a Colonial revival house with Adamesque and Palladian overtones by McKim and White.

The historians who denounced this historicist approach to design are legion. Most of them have favoured the Bauhaus methods and/or the International Style as the answer to the architecture of the future. In her biography of Laszlo Moholy-Nagy, Sibyl Moholy-Nagy states that the aim and achievement of the Bauhaus was "to annihilate the Beaux-Arts spirit."[7] Walter Gropius in effect transferred the Bauhaus ideal from Germany to Harvard University where he became chairman of the Department of Architecture within the School of Design, headed by Dean Joseph Hudnut. Hudnut welcomed the new spirit in architecture, not only of the Bauhaus but also of other European movements. He wrote several articles extolling the work of the Finnish born Eliel Saarinen (1873-1950) who won the second premium of $25,000 in the Chicago Tribune competition, 1922, and settled in the United States the following year. Hudnut wrote articles on Saarinen's competition entry for the

Smithsonian Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., and lamented the fact that John Russell Pope finally landed the commission.[8] He also wrote on the Saarinen, Swanson and Saarinen design for Crow's Island School, Winnetka, Illinois, and Saarinen's Kleinhan's Music Hall, Buffalo, New York, 1938. Hudnut was not satisfied in merely praising the hall; he had to condemn something of the past and in his article on the music hall, denounced McKim, Mead and White's Boston Symphony Music Hall, 1892-1901.[9]

Leland Roth lists Sigfried Giedion, Lewis Mumford and John Kouwenhoven as being of the same anti-Beaux Arts camp,[10] but readily admits that an equal number of historians have advanced arguments for American historicism. Included are Talbot Faulkner Hamlin, The American Spirit in Architecture, New Haven, 1926, Thomas E. Talmadge, The Story of Architecture in America, New York, 1927, Fiske Kimball, American Architecture, Indianapolis and New York, 1928 and G.H. Edzell, The American Architecture Today, New York, 1928.

Of more recent vintage is the new attitudes toward design which now question the Bauhaus and the International Style. Robert Venturi strongly feels that the third Vitruvian principle of architecture, that of delight, should be brought back into architecture to complement the first two principles, firmness and commodity, rather than accept the Bauhaus equation that firmness and commodity will provide all the delight that is needed.[11]

Skidmore, Owings and Merrill, known more for their pristine glass boxes such as Lever House, New York, 1951, are equally classicists in the Miesian sense of forwarding the Romantic-Classicist traditions of the early nineteenth century designers. Skidmore, Owings and Merrill's United States Capital plan of 1966, was a reversion back to the basic principles of Major Charles l'Enfant of 1792, the origins of which were incorporated into the Senate Park Commission's "City Beautiful" movement for Washington, D.C., 1901, as forwarded by Daniel Burnham of Chicago, Charles McKim, and sculptors and designers of the period.[12]

Arthur Drexler, author of a biography of Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, 1960, and of the Architecture of Skidmore, Owings and Merrill, 1950-62, 1963, has presented numerous exhibitions and written catalogues in his role as Director of the Department of Architecture and Design at the New York Museum of Modern Art. His latest, although brief exhibition catalogue The Architecture of the Ecole des Beaux Arts, held from 29 October 1975 to 4 January 1976, states "Now that modern experience so often contradicts modern faith, we would be well advised to re-examine our architectural pieties."[13] Two hundred drawings were exhibited including Henri Labrouste's Bibliotheque Sainte-Genevieve, 1838-50, Charles Garnier's Paris Opera, 1861-75, and on to John Russell Pope's Jefferson Memorial, Washington, D.C., 1934-43. The underlying theme of the exhibition was to question the rejection by the modern movement of Beaux-Arts ideals. Had, in fact, the baby not been thrown out with the

bath water? Aspects of Beaux-Arts training, the emphasis on plan organisation, for example, was a learning point, which the modern movement had rejected to its detriment. Does modern architectural planning lack the organisational ability which was exemplified in the teaching at the Ecole? Perhaps it's no longer vive la Bauhaus, mort a l'Ecole, but rather, that both apparently opposing schools of thought have a more common ground and can both contribute to the learning process.

The book planned to accompany the Beaux Arts exhibition was not published until 1977. It contained an essay on "The Teaching of Architecture at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts" by Richard Chafee; "Architectural Compositions of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts from Charles Percier to Charles Garnier," by David Van Zanten; "The Romantic Idea of Architectural Legibility: Henri Labrouste and the Neo-Grec," by Neil Levine; and with the introductory essay "Engineer's Architecture: Truth and Consequences," by Arthur Drexler who also edited The Architecture of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1977). In this introductory essay, Drexler expressed the idea that "modern architecture is uniquely the engineering style" and quotes Mies van der Rohe as having stated that "we will have simplicity no matter how much it costs." Discussing Charles Garnier's Opera, Paris, Drexler states that designers today would be unable to achieve such opulence even if it were wanted; as in minimal sculpture, architectural reductionism has become irrational. Only Louis Kahn's architecture "opens the post-modern because it refuses to accept reductionism as its measure of value."[14]

Drexler also wrote the preface to Kenneth Frampton and Colin Rowe's Five Architects, 1972, extolling the work of Peter Eisenman, Michael Graves, Charles Gwathmey, John Hejduk and Richard Meier. The only factors which link these five architects are that they are young practitioners building rather small domestic scaled structures comparable to the architectural output of Le Corbusier in the 1920's. They are thus practicing as architects may have practiced in the 1940's in the United States, if Naziism had not raised its ugly head in Germany and if the Bauhaus had not subsequently had to close in 1933 with the transference of its teaching staff mainly to the United States. Le Corbusier's intermittent training was under Auguste Perret, who had studied at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts; he also studied under Josef Hoffman, and Peter Behrens, whose inspiration came from the German Romantic-Classicist Schinkel. Is it therefore not surprising that Louis Isadore Kahn, who trained in the Beaux-Arts tradition at the University of Pennsylvania School of Architecture, accepted Le Corbusier's philosophy as expounded in Vers Une Architecture, 1923, when it was translated as Towards a New Architecture in 1927? Le Corbusier has Beaux-Arts qualities in his planning; so too does Kahn, most notably at his library for Philipps Exeter Academy in New Hampshire. It is also not surprising with the importance of Kahn and Le Corbusier that several young architects practicing in the New York area discovered the same common denominators and incorporated some of the precedents propounded by the Ecole des Beaux-Arts into their designs.

With this revived interest comes a greater understanding and consequent appreciation of the work of Stanford White and the academic proponents such as the firm McKim, Mead and White. Allan Greenberg in an Architectural Forum article entitled "The Lurking American Legacy," states that the architecture of the Five and particularly Michael Graves could not possibly be confused with the European models upon which they are based. Rather, the tradition is in the "continuation of the East Coast Stick and Shingle Style vernacular" where large verandahs, porches and windows are positioned in "an attempt to trap the summer breezes and distribute them to all parts of the house" in the nineteenth century manner of Alexander Jackson Downing.[15] The geometry of the Five's domestic architecture, with cylindrical towers and angular pitches is also reflective of several works by McKim and White, notably White's design for the Isaac Bell house, Newport, Rhode Island.

Vincent Scully's The Shingle Style and the Stick Style, first printed in 1955, now has a sequel: The Shingle Style Today or The Historian's Revenge (New York, 1974). In the former book, Scully acted as historian reporting on the trends of late nineteenth century domestic architecture on the east coast of the United States. Inadvertently he influenced a generation of architects of the late 1960's and early '70's who design in what might be termed the Shingle revival style of Post Modernism. It is no accident that McKim, Mead and White's W.G. Low House, Bristol, Rhode Island, 1887, although now demolished, is re-

flected in a project dated 1959 for a beach house by Robert Venturi or an actual realisation in the Otto Spaeth House, East Hampton, Long Island, 1957, by Nelson and Chadwick. Charles Moore's Sea Ranch condominium in California, 1965-66, is part of the movement and so too, as has already been mentioned, the work of the Five.

Preservation in 1976 in Manhattan was largely centered on the need to retain the Villard Houses as part of the Madison Avenue townscape and prevent their replacement with a fifty-two storey hotel and office complex. SAVE--the Society Against Villard Extinction--purchased a time-slot on the Columbia Broadcasting System, wrote letters to various New York newspapers and paid for a four-page supplement to Our Town, Manhattan's weekly community newspaper, to advertise the need for concerted action to save the Villard Houses.[16] Not only is the scale of the houses related to a fast disappearing skyline, but the interior artwork, paintings, reliefs, sculptures, mosaics are considered by many to be significant contributions to America's heritage. The fight to retain another Stanford White from the fast dwindling list of demolitions continues.

In Britain there has always been a continuous interest in the firm's work. McKim was made an honourary member of the Architectural Association, London, as early as 1869, and received the Gold Medal of the Royal Institute of British Architects in 1903. The RIBA had apparently wanted samples of the firm's work in 1899, "which they conceded to be in advance of

'their own, and which they wanted for their exhibition, as an object lesson."[17] It is interesting to note that the RIBA Drawings Collection contains a few of the firm's drawings notably of the Brooklyn Museum and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, collected by Cecil Claude Brewer, Godwin Bursar for 1911, who visited fifty American Museums, the subject of which he later gave as a paper, "American Museum Buildings" to the RIBA in 1913.[18]

Sir Edwin Lutyens who was awarded the RIBA Gold Medal in 1921, visited the United States to receive the Gold Medal of the American Institute of Architects in 1924. He saw Pennsylvania Station, New York, by McKim and the Washington Terminal by Daniel Burnham and was critical of both, but when he was actually presented with his medal in the main hall of the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art, he concluded that "the scale they can adopt is splendid."[19]

Charles Reilly, Professor of Architecture at the University of Liverpool, also admired the firm's work requesting drawings of buildings for demonstration purposes in his school in 1909. In 1924 he wrote a brief monograph on McKim, Mead and White, praising their "great freshness and ingenuity." Their impact in Britain due to these kind of advertisements led many architects to follow in their footsteps. A perusal of the forty-six volumes of "The Buildings of England" published by Penguin Books and prepared by Sir Nikolaus Pevsner, will provide a lengthy listing of buildings influenced from across the Atlantic.

Unfortunately, one would have to search the text of all forty-six volumes since the "Index of Artists" in each volume only lists the architects of specific buildings and not architects having an influence. Just one example will have to suffice and that from Norwich, where on Bank Plain, is located Barclay's Bank, "surprisingly monumental, considering the size of Norwich. It was designed by E. Boardman & Son and Brierly & Rutherford of York and built in 1929-31. Its facade is the length of a whole block, it is entirely symmetrical, and it is not an office building, but quite clearly the envelope of a large banking house. The style is a kind of Renaissance as handled perhaps by McKim, Mead and White in America."[20]

On both sides of the Atlantic the impact of McKim, Mead and White has been felt. They are now such a significant part of history that their contribution can now more objectively be gauged. The Victorian Society's annual symposium in 1974, sponsored by the University of Delaware and Winterthur Museum, could consider aspects of "Late Nineteenth Century American Art: Cosmopolitan Tastes and the Genteel Tradition," without apology to anyone. Russell Lynes, the Symposium Moderator, could state that the late nineteenth and early twentieth century was ripe and ready for additional scholarly investigation.

FOOTNOTES

1. Op.cit., pp.14-16 and 66.

2. Norval White and Elliot Willensky, AIA Guide to New York City, New York, 1968, p.142, gives the architect as W.E.D. Stokes of Graves and DuBoy.

3. Lee H. Nelson, "White, Furness, McNally and the Capitol National Bank of Salem, Oregon," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 19 (May 1960): 57-61.

4. Louis H. Sullivan, The Autobiography of an Idea, New York, 1956, p.325.

5. Hitchcock, Richardson, 1936, pp.162 and 299, quoted by Roth, p.789.

6. Op.cit., Vol.7 (January-June 1944) pp.46-63.

7. Sibyl Moholy-Nagy, Moholy-Nagy: Experiment in Totality, Cambridge, Mass.: 1969 (1st ed. 1950) p.38.

8. Joseph Hudnut, "Smithsonian Competition Results," Magazine of Art 32 (August 1939): 456-59 and 488-89; "The Last of the Romans: Comment on the Building of the National Gallery of Art," Magazine of Art 34 (April 1941): 169-73.

9. Joseph Hudnut, "Crow's Island School, Winnetka, Illinois," Architectural Forum 75 (August 1941): 83, 85, 89 and 91; "Kleinhan's Music Hall, Buffalo, N.Y.," Architectural Forum 75 (July 1941): 37-41.

10. Roth, 788-90.

11. Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown, Learning from Las Vegas, Cambridge, Mass.: 1972, fig.46.

12. Nathaniel A. Owings, The Grand Design, Washington, D.C., 1967.

13. Op.cit., unpaged introductory comment.

14. Op.cit., pp.14, 37 and 58.

15. Op.cit., Vol.138 (May 1973): 54-55.

16. Our Town, 14 May 1976.

17. Letter, McKim to Seth Low, April 1899, McKim Papers, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, quoted by Roth, p.778.

18. The drawings were given in 1963 by Mrs. Sidney Clarke. See Catalogue of the Drawings Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects, L-V, edited by Jill Lever, London, 1973, p.54. Cecil Claude Brewer's paper "American Museum Buildings," was published in the Royal Institute of British Architects Journal 20 (12 April 1913): 365-98.

19. Christopher Hussey, The Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens, London, 1953, p.459.

20. Nikolaus Pevsner, North-East Norfolk and Norwich, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England, 1962, pp.266-67.

APPENDIX ONE

NUMBERS OF EMPLOYEES IN THE FIRM OF McKIM, MEAD AND WHITE, 1879-1914, AS ABSTRACTED FROM CHARLES MOORE, THE LIFE AND TIMES OF CHARLES FOLLEN McKIM

Moore's "Office Roll of McKim, Mead and White" (pp.328-37), provides the date in which each architect began and ended his employment. When only one date is provided, it has been assumed for the purpose of this exercise, that the employment terminated in the same year in which it began. So that during the first ten years, 1879-89, the number rose to thirty-six, reaching well over seventy during the years 1891, 1896 and 1908. The numbers dropped to between forty and fifty during 1898, 1901, 1903, 1906 and 1907. At McKim's death in 1909, it stood at sixty-eight, dropping gradually to fourteen in 1914.

APPENDIX TWO

AUCTIONS OF ART WORKS OWNED BY STANFORD WHITE

After the death of White, six auctions were held, four during 1907 by the American Art Association to dispose of furniture, decorations, paintings and drawings from his town house at 121 East Twenty-first Street, New York, and a further two sales of architectural elements by the American Art Association and Anderson Galleries in 1934. These auctions are listed in Harold Lancour, American Art Auction Catalogues, 1785-1942, N.Y.: New York Public Library, 1944, nos.2402, 2406, 2443, 2447, 6077 and 6080.

1. "Illustrated Catalogue of the Artistic Furnishings and Interior Decorations of the Residence no.121 East Twenty-first Street, New York City, to be sold at unrestricted public sale by the order of the estate of the late Stanford White." The auction consisted of 409 lots and was held in the music room at the rear of the house on Thursday, Friday and Saturday, 4, 5, and 6 April 1907. Many of White's clients were present including Mr. and Mrs. Robert Goelet, Harry and Mrs. Payne Whitney and Mrs. W.K. Vanderbilt, architects included Cass Gilbert, Wilson Eyre, I.N. Phelps Stokes and George A. Platt, plus the interior designer Elsie de Wolfe, painter Grant La Farge and newspaperman W.R. Hearst who paid $500 for a six foot high sixteenth century mounted coloured globe, and $3,000 for the drawing room wooden ceiling with painted panels. Mrs.

Cooper-Hewitt paid $710 for a Louis XIV four fold screen, the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art $350 for an ivory chest, Charles A. Platt $1,125 for 114 yards of Genoese velvet from the walls of the drawing room and George C. Whaley $10,500 for a 15'x19' Goebelin tapestry. For further details, see "Society Flocks to White Auction--Small Decorative Articles Brought $20,525.50 at first day of Sale," New York Times, 6 April 1907, p.8:8, and "White Auction Over: Brought $125,804," New York Times, Sunday 7 April 1907, p.3:1.

2. "Old Master Paintings, Water Colors and Drawings." The sale of 120 lots was held at Mendelsohn Hall, New York, on 11 and 12 April 1907 and $51,532 was realized. Most of the paintings were by American artists and $1,500 was paid for a Thomas W. Dewing. The same price was paid for a Sir Joshua Reynolds portrait of Miss Ridge, purchased by H. Randle, although the highest price in the sale was $1,600 for a Gerome. A complete list of paintings and prices paid was published in "Low Prices Paid for White Pictures: Many Paintings and Sketches Bring About Half of What They Cost," New York Times, 12 April 1907, p.9:5, and "White Sale Over," New York Times, 13 April 1907, p.9:1.

3. "Illustrated Catalogue of Valuable Artistic Property collected by the late Stanford White. . . to be sold at unrestricted public sale at the American Art Galleries by order of the executrix on November 25, 26, 27 and 29, 1907. The sale will be conducted by Mr. Thomas E. Kirby of the American Art

Association, managers." The sale was held at the American Art Galleries, Madison Square, New York, 25 November 1907, when 651 lots were auctioned. Items included tapestries, porcelain, metalware, ceilings, panels, carpets, a "Pan" by Frederick MacMonnies and a "Diane" by Augustus Saint-Gaudens. A Moorish pottery vase fetched $350, the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art paid $80 for an antique Italian carving and 194 of the 651 lots fetched $7,278. No further details of prices are given of this unique collection by "the foremost connoisseur that this country had produced." See "Stanford White Collection. Unusual Assemblage of Art Objects Now Shown at the American Art Galleries," New York Times, 26 November 1907, p.8:6.

4. "Catalogue of Antique Marble and Stone Mantels, Sarcophagi, fountains and other valuable objects collected by the late Stanford White." The auction was held at the Terminal Warehouse, Eighth Avenue and 27th Street, New York, when more than one hundred lots fetched $8,416, including $525 for an antique Italian fountain. See "Last of Architect's Art Collection Sold at Storage Warehouse," New York Times, 11 December 1907, p.5:2.

5. "Notable Paintings" (of Stanford White and others, a total of 108 lots) 16 March 1934.

6. "Period Furniture, Valuable Tapestries," 22 March 1934, 652 lots.

LIST OF DESIGNS BY STANFORD WHITE BY BUILDING TYPE

Abstracted from Charles C. Baldwin's chronological listing in Stanford White, New York, 1931; with additions from various files in the New York Historical Society, McKim, Mead and White Collection; attributions by Vincent Scully, The Shingle Style, New Haven, 1955; and Leland Roth, "The Urban Architecture of McKim, Mead and White, 1870-1910," Yale University Doctoral Dissertation, 1973. Leland Roth's The Architecture of McKim, Mead and White, 1870-1920, A Building List, New York, 1978, provides details of costs of all projects abstracted from the Bill Books of the firm located in the New York Historical Society's collection of McKim, Mead and White material.

Abbreviations: d = designed
c = constructed

Listing includes: Clubs, Commercial (including hotels), Educational, Industrial, Monuments and Memorials, Recreational, Religious, Residential.

CLUBS

Brook Club
7 East 40 Street, N.Y., 1904-1905

Century Club
7-11 West 43 Street, N.Y., d.1889, c.1890-91
(White elevations, McKim plan, Wells details)

Colony Club
120-24 Madison Avenue, N.Y., (Now American Academy of Dramatic Arts), d.1904, c.1905-08.

Freundshaft Club
Park Avenue and 72 Street, N.Y., d.1885, c.1887-89.

Harmonie Club
4-8 East 60 Street, N.Y., d.1904, c.1904-07.

Lambs Club
128 West 44 Street, N.Y., d.1903, c.1904-05.

Metropolitan Club
1 East 60 Street, N.Y., d.1891, c.1892-94.

Players Club
Gramercy Park, N.Y., 1888-90.

Tile Club Renovation
East 10 Street, N.Y., early 1880's.

COMMERCIAL (Hotels listed separately at the end of this section).

American Safe Deposit Co. Building
42 Street and 5 Avenue, N.Y., d.1882, c.1884.

Bowery Savings Bank
Bowery and Grand Street, N.Y., d.1893, c.1893-95.

Cable Building
Broadway and Houston Street, N.Y., 1894 (See Architectural Record, September 1906).

Cosmopolitan Building
Irvington, N.Y., 1894.

Goelet Building
Broadway and 20 Street, N.Y., 1886-87.

Gorham Building
390 5 Avenue, N.Y., d.1903, c.1904-06.

Grand Central Station Competition entry, 1904.

Herald Building
Broadway at 35 Street, N.Y., d.1891, c.1892-94, demolished 1921.

Havana Tobacco Co. Store
St. James Building, Broadway, 28 Street, N.Y., 1903.

Judge Building
5 Avenue, 16 Street, N.Y., 1890.

Knickerbocker Trust Co.
358 5 Avenue, N.Y., d.1901, c.1902-04, demolished 1925 and at 60 Broadway, d.1906-07, c.1908-12, demolished mid-1960's.

Madison Square Garden
Twenty-sixth to Twenty-seventh Streets, Park Avenue to Madison Square, N.Y., d.1887, c.1888-91, demolished 1925.

New York Life Insurance Co. Building
20 West Ninth Street, Kansas City, Missouri, d.1887, c.1888-90, (jointly by Mead and White). Altered 1933 and again in the 1960's.

New York Life Insurance Co. Building
346 Broadway, N.Y., remodelling and addition to existing building, d.1896, c.1896-99.

New York Life Insurance Co. Building
Omaha, Nebraska, 1890.

Niagara Falls Power Co.
Niagara Falls, N.Y., Power House d.1892, c.1893-95, reducing house and cottages.

Park and Tilford
Broadway at 39 Street, N.Y., 1895, and at Columbus Avenue and 72 Street, N.Y., 1893.

Pennsylvania Railroad
Parlor Car, 1885.

Puck Building
Chicago, Illinois, 1893.

Russell and Erwin Building (built as hotel with shops, altered by the firm in 1907-09 as the New Britain City Hall)
35 West Main Street, New Britain, Conn., Joseph Wells in charge, d.1883-84, c.1884-85.

State Savings Bank (now Manufacturers National Bank of Detroit)
Fort and Shelby Streets, Detroit, Michigan, d.1898, c.1898-1900.

Tiffany Building
401 5 Avenue at Thirty-seventh Street, N.Y., d.1903, c.1903-06.

Vanderbilt Building
17 Beekman Street, N.Y., 1893.

White Star Steam Ship Company Building
244 S. Clark Street, Chicago, Illinois, 1893.

Yandell, C.R. & Co.
Art Gallery 5 Avenue at 19 Street, N.Y.

HOTELS

Garden City Hotel
7 Street and Park Avenue, Garden City, L.I., d.1894, c.1895-96, part rebuilt after fire 1899-1901, demolished 1973.

Hotel Imperial
Broadway, 31 Street, N.Y., d.1889, c.1889-91.
32 Street addition, 1894.
31 Street addition, 1896-1903.
completely renovated 1917-18, demolished 1947. (For Robert and Ogden Goelet).

Sherry's Hotel
522-28 Fifth Avenue at Forty-fourth Street, d.1896, c.1897-98, demolished 1930's.

EDUCATIONAL BUILDINGS

Cornell Medical School
1 Avenue at 28 Street, N.Y., d.1898, c.1899-1901, demolished 1968. (Oliver H. Payne, client)

Goucher College
Baltimore, Maryland
Physical Culture Building, 1887-88.
Tablet probably for the Church, 1890.
Conservatory of Music, 1890.
Girls' Latin School, 1891.
Fine Arts Building, 1894.
Tablet, 1896.

Naugatuck High School (now Junior High)
Hillside Avenue, Naugatuck, Conn., d.1901, c.1902-05, Van der Bent, Mead and Kendall in charge according to Roth. Baldwin attributes it to White (for J.H. Whittmore).

New York University, University Heights Campus
University Avenue and West 181 Street, The Bronx, N.Y.
Hall of Languages, d.1892-94, c.1894-95.
(Norcross Brothers, builders)
Excavations and Walls, 1896.
Dormitory, 1897.
Museum, 1898.
Gould Library, d.1892-95, c.1896-1903.
Ambulatory and Hall of Fame, 1900-1901.

Ramona School (Indian Girls' School)
Santa Fe, N.M., 1882.

United States Military Academy
West Point, N.Y.
Cullum Memorial (Hall) d.1893-95, c.1896-98, Bachelor Officers' Quarters.

University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Va.
Rotunda Reconstruction d.1896, c.1896-98, restored to Jefferson's design, 1974-76.
Cabell Hall, 1899.
Rouss Hall, c.1900.
Cocke Hall, c.1900.

INDUSTRIAL

Broadway and 7 Avenue Railroad Power House
Houston Street, N.Y., 1894.

Interborough Rapid Transit Company Power House
11 Avenue at 59 Street, N.Y., d.1902, c.1903-04.

MONUMENTS AND MEMORIALS

Abbey, Edwin Austin
Monument to his father-in-law, 1901.

Adams, Mrs. Henry
Rockcreek Cemetery, D.C., 1891.

Allis Monument
Milwaukee, Wisconsin, 1897.
(Site supervision by D.H. Burnham
Source: NYHS M&P, Logan Monument file)

Bancroft Monument
Worcester, Mass., 1892.

Barney, Charles T. Tomb
1905.

Battell Memorial Fountain
Norfolk, Conn., 1889.

Battle Monument
Thayer and Washington Road, United States Military Academy, West Point with Frederick MacMonnies, d.1891, c.1896-97.

Booth, Edwin, Memorial
Boston, Mass., 1895.

Boy and Duck Fountain
Brooklyn, N.Y., 1896 (with Frederick MacMonnies).

Brooks, Phillips, Monument
Boston, Mass., 1906 (with Augustus Saint-Gaudens).

Bunker, Dennis Miller, Monument
Boston, Mass., 1892 (Source: NYHS MS letter from Eleanor Bunker).

Cataract Construction Co. Flagpole base
Niagara Falls, N.Y., 1895 (with Frederick MacMonnies).

Columbus Centennial Arch
N.Y., 1892, dismounted after the ceremonies.

Consuelo (Vanderbilt) Dutchess of Marlborough Monument
Woodlawn Cemetery, N.Y., 1906.

Cooper, Peter, Monument
Cooper Square, N.Y., d.1894, c.1897 (with Augustus Saint-Gaudens).

Emmons, Nathaniel H., Memorial
Boston, Mass., 1890.

Farragut, Admiral David Glasgow, Monument
Madison Square, N.Y., d.1879-80, c.1880-81 (with Augustus Saint-Gaudens). Original base at the Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site, Cornish, N.H.. Replaced in 1925. During the early 1930's the sculpture was moved to the center of Madison Square from its position facing Fifth Avenue at Twenty-fifth Street.

Garfield Monument
Fairmount Park, Philadelphia, 1894 (with Augustus Saint-Gaudens).

Goelet, Ogden and Robert, Mausoleum
Woodlawn Cemetery, N.Y., d. & c.1899.

Hale, Nathan, Pedestal
Broadway and City Hall Park, N.Y., 1889 and
Huntington, L.I., 1894 (sculptures by Frederick MacMonnies).

Lincoln Statue, Standing
Chicago, Illinois, 1887 (sculptor, Augustus Saint-Gaudens), copy for Parliament Square, London, 1930.

Lincoln Statue, Seated
Chicago, Illinois, 1907 (sculptor, Augustus Saint-Gaudens).

Logan Equestrian Statue
Chicago, Illinois, 1894.

"Diana"
Madison Square Gardens (Augustus Saint-Gaudens)
1891 (eighteen feet high)
1892 (thirteen feet high--now Philadelphia Museum of Art).
Numerous smaller copies by Tiffany & Co.. Concrete copies approximately eight feet high were made. L.G.W. presented one to the City Museum of N.Y.. The New York Metropolitan Museum of Art has an eight foot high bronze copy.

Maryland Society's Battle Monument
Prospect Park, Brooklyn, 1892.

Monument to the Founder
Llewelyn Park, N.Y., 1880.

Morgan, Gov. Edwin Denison Mausoleum
Hartford, Connecticut, 1881.

Osborne, Charles J. Mausoleum
Woodlawn Cemetery, N.Y., d. & c.1909.

Pilgrim Monument (not Chapin)
Philadelphia, Pa., 1905 (sculptor Augustus Saint-Gaudens).

Pilgrim Monument (Deacon Samuel Chapin)
Merrick Park, Springfield, Mass., 1887 (sculptor Augustus Saint-Gaudens).

Prison Ship Martyrs Monument
Fort Greene Park, Brooklyn, N.Y., d.1900, completed 1908.

Randal, Richard
Sailor's Snug Harbor, Staten Island, N.Y., 1880 (sculptor Augustus Saint-Gaudens).

Russell, Mrs. Henry E. Mausoleum
Woodlawn Cemetery, N.Y., 1894.

Sherry, Louis, Mausoleum
Woodlawn Cemetery, N.Y., 1905.

Slocum, Gen. Monument
Grand Army Plaza bounded by Plaza Street, Brooklyn, N.Y., 1904-05. (sculptor Frederick MacMonnies. Source: NYHS M&P, Slocum file).

Smith, Mrs. Anna Maria, Tomb
Cemetery, Newport, R.I., 1886 (with Augustus Saint-Gaudens).

Stewart, D., Tomb
(Two seated angel reliefs by Augustus Saint-Gaudens)
Greenwood Cemetery, Brooklyn, N.Y., 1885.

Stranahan, James S.T. Monument
Grand Army Plaza entrance to Prospect Park, Brooklyn, N.Y., 1890 (sculptor Frederick MacMonnies).

Tarrytown Drinking Fountain
Tarrytown, N.Y., 1895.

Taylor, H.A.C., Mausoleum
Woodlawn Cemetery, N.Y., d. & c.1900-1901.

Tracy Francis, Monument
Forest Lawn Cemetery, Buffalo, N.Y., 1886.

Twombly, Hamilton McKown Monument
Woodlawn Cemetery, N.Y., 1896.

Washington Arch
Washington Square, N.Y., d.1889, c.1891-95, sculptures completed 1918.

Woodward, General John B.
Brooklyn, N.Y., 1905 (sculptor Frederick MacMonnies).

Yznaga, Fernando, Monument
Woodlawn Cemetery, N.Y., 1901 (source NYHS M&P)

RECREATIONAL

Barney, Charles T.
Yacht "Invincible," 1900.

Bennett, James Gordon
Yacht "Namouna," 1885 and yacht "Lysistrata," 1892.

Carroll, Royal Phelps
Yacht, 1892.

Goelet, Robert
Yachting cup, executed by Tiffany and Co., 1896.

Newport Casino
194 Bellevue Avenue, Newport, R.I., d.1879, c.1880-81, for James Gordon Bennett.

Prospect Park Entrances
Brooklyn, N.Y., d.1889, c.1889-95, 1907-08.

Shinnecock Hills Golf Club
Shinnecock Hills, L.I., N.Y., 1895.

Short Hills Casino
Short Hills, New Jersey (McKim was responsible for the residential development) 1879-80.

RELIGIOUS

Church of the Paulist Fathers
Altar and ciborium (with MacMonnies, La Farge and others)
Columbus Avenue and 59 Street, N.Y., 1890.

Church of Christ
Hanover, N.H., 1889 (chancel restoration), demolished 1930's.

Church of the Ascension, Chancel
Fifth Avenue and 10 Street, N.Y. (with Louis Saint-Gaudens, La Farge and others), d.1885.

First Methodist Church
22 Street and St. Paul Street, Baltimore, Maryland, d.1883, c.1884-87.

Judson Memorial Church
55 Washington Square South, N.Y., d.1888, c.1890-93, plus addition, 1895-96.

Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church
Madison Square at Twenty-fourth Street, N.Y., d.1903, c.1904-06, demolished 1919.

St. Bartholomew's Church Porch
Madison Avenue and 44 Street, N.Y., d.1901, c.1901-03; moved to Bertram Goodhue's St. Bartholomew's, Park Avenue and 51 Street, N.Y., 1918 (for Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt).

St. James Church--3 Memorial Windows
Smithtown, L.I., N.Y., 1895.

Trinity Episcopal Church and Parish House
Northern Boulevard, Roslyn, L.I., N.Y., d.1905, c.1906-07.
(for Clarence and Katherine Mackay)

RESIDENTIAL

Adams, E.D.
Rumson Neck, N.J., 1888.

Alexandra, Mrs. Nathalie
Stamford, Connecticut, 1897.

Arnold, Benjamin W.
456 State Street, Albany, N.Y., d.1901, c.1902-05.

Astor, John Jacob
374 5 Avenue, N.Y., 1879-81, demolished.

Astor, John Jacob
"Ferncliffe" casino, tennis courts and pool
Rhinebeck, N.Y., d.1902, c.1902-04.

Atterberry, Charles L.
Shinnecock, L.I., N.Y., 1887.

Auchincloss, H.B.
Orange, N.J., 1884.

Barney, Charles T.
67 Park Avenue, N.Y., 1895.

Bell, Isaac
Newport, R.I., 1882-83.

Bennett, James Gordon
288 Ann Street, N.Y., 1885.

Breese, James L. (now Amherst College Economic Study Center)
Southampton, L.I., N.Y., d.1898-1904, c.1905-07,
"The Blind," Havre de Grace, Maryland, 1906 (NYHS M&P, Breese box 570).

Brown, Mrs. George Bruce
Madison Avenue and 72 Street, N.Y., 1894. (Source: McKim, Mead and White list May 1894, NYHS M&P).

Butler, P.H.
22 Park Avenue, N.Y., 1895-97.

Cheney, Miss Anne W.
S. Manchester, Conn. (This is the house designed in Richardson's office in 1876 for Rufus Cheney, Anne's father), additions 1883 and after. Superintendent's residence on the estate, 1906.

Choate, Joseph H.
Stockbridge, Mass., 1887.

Clarke, Thomas B. (now Collector's Club)
22 E. 35 Street, N.Y., d.1902, c.1902 (Roth attribution).

Fish, Mrs. Clarence
53 Irving Place, N.Y., 1899.

Fish, Stuyvesant
28 E. 78 Street, N.Y., 1900.

Garrett, John W. and Mary E.
Baltimore, Maryland, 1892.

Garrett, Robert
11 W. Mount Vernon Place, Baltimore, Maryland, d.1883, completed 1887 with alterations and additions 1892-93.

Gibson, Charles Dana
127 E. 73 Street, N.Y., d.1902, c.1902-03. Gutted and altered 1950.

Gilder, Richard Watson
Remodelling old stone building at Marion, Mass.
(See L.H. Tharp, Saint-Gaudens, p.204).

Goelet, Robert
Newport, R.I., 1882-83.

Goodwin, James J.
15-17 W. 54 Street, N.Y., d.1896, c.1896-98. (Roth attribution to Mead and White).

Goucher, Rev. John F.
Baltimore, Maryland, d.1890, c.1891-92.

Hamilton, James Alexander
"Nevis" (built 1835), Irvington, N.Y., enlarged and altered internally, 1889. (Source: American Guide Series, A Guide to the Empire State, N.Y., 1955, p.587).

Hanna, L.C.
Cleveland, Ohio, 1902-06.

Hollins, Henry
12 W. 56 Street, N.Y., c.1899-1901.

Hopkins, Mrs. Mark
Great Barrington, Mass., 1885.

King, D.H.
Model Houses north side of 139 Street, N.Y., 1891.

King, William H.
"Kingscote," Bellevue Avenue and Bowery Street, Newport, R.I., 1880-81 (enlargement of house built in 1841 by Richard Upjohn for Noble Jones; source: H.-R. Hitchcock, Rhode Island Architecture).

Lorillard, Pierre
Tuxedo Park, N.Y., 1891.

Lydig, Philip
N.Y., 1905.

Lyons, J.C.
973 5 Avenue, 1905.

McCormick House
Richfield Springs, N.Y., 1880-81. (Attribution by Scully, Shingle Style, p.137).

Mackay, Clarence H. Estate
"Harbor Hill," Harbor Hill Road, Roslyn, L.I., N.Y., d.1899, c.1900-02, 1906; demolished 1947, gatehouse remains.

Metcalf, Mrs. E.F.
Buffalo, N.Y., variously dated between 1883-1886.

Miller, Dr. George N.
811 Madison Avenue, N.Y., 1893-94.

Mills, D. Ogden
Staatsburgh, N.Y., 1897.

Morgan, Edwin D.
"Beacon Rock," Harrison Avenue, Newport, R.I., d.1888, c.1889-91 (McKim and White).

Morton, Levi P.
681 5 Avenue, N.Y., 1896-98 (Roth attribution).

Niagara Development Company
Housing (25 cottages), Niagara Falls, N.Y., 1895.

Oelrichs, Mrs. Herman
"Rosecliff," Bellevue Avenue, Newport, R.I., d.1897, c.1899-1902.

Osborne, Charles J.
South Barry Avenue, Mamaroneck, N.Y., d.1883, c.1884-85. Became the Mamaroneck Beach, Cabana and Yacht Club, and burned 1971.

Page, Thomas Nelson
1759 R Street at N.H. Avenue, Washington, D.C., d.1896, c.1896-97.

Park, William G.
Stable and alterations, Cazenovia, N.Y., 1893. (Source: McKim, Mead and White, file list May 28, 1894, NYHS M&P).

Patterson, Robert W.
Chicago, Illinois, 1892-95.

Patterson, Mrs. E.M.
15 Dupont Circle, Washington, D.C., 1903.

Pendleton, F.K.
Shinnecock, L.I., N.Y., 1887.

Pinchot, James W.
Bay and 69 Street, N.Y. (Source: McKim, Mead and White, file list, May 28, 1894, NYHS M&P).

Poor, Henry W. (interiors)
1 Lexington Avenue, N.Y., d.1899, c.1899-1901, demolished 1930.

Pope, Alfred Atmore
"Hill Stead," 671 Farmington Avenue, Farmington, Conn., d.1898, c.1899-1901 (Roth attribution).

Pulitzer, Joseph
Bar Harbor, Maine, 1896. (Source: Pulitzer letter to White, NYHS M&P).

Pulitzer, Joseph
7-11 E. 73 Street, N.Y., d.1900, c.1901-03.

Pyle, James T.
Morristown, N.J., 1903.

Robb, J. Hamden
23 Park Avenue, N.Y., d.1889, c.1889-91.

Root, Robert K.
Delaware Avenue, Buffalo, N.Y., 1895.

Rowland, George
Greenwich, Conn., 1894. (Source: McKim, Mead and White, file list, May 28, 1894, NYHS M&P).

Saunders, E.A.
New Haven, Conn., 1895. (Source: McKim, Mead and White, file list, May 28, 1894, NYHS M&P).

Shepard, Mrs. E.F.
Scarborough, N.Y., d.1890, c.1892-95 (Mead in charge according to Roth).

Smith House
Smithtown, L.I., N.Y. (Source: article on White in Dictionary of American Biography).

Stier, Joseph F.
5-11 Broadway, N.Y., 1895. (Source: McKim, Mead and White, file list, May 28, 1894, NYHS M&P).

Stillman, Mrs. James A.
5 Avenue at 72 Street (not built).

Taylor, Henry Augustus Coit
Newport, R.I., (collaboration with McKim), d.1882-84, c.1885-86, demolished 1952.

Thompson, Charles G.
17 W. 56 Street, N.Y., 1894. (Source: McKim, Mead and White, file list May 28, 1894, NYHS M&P).

Tiffany, Charles L.
19 East 72 Street at Madison Avenue, N.Y., d.1882, c.1883-85, demolished 1936.

Twombly, Hamilton McKown
Farm buildings, Madison, N.J., 1892, 1894, 1897 (stable), 1899 (lodge and entrance). (Source: McKim, Mead and White, file lists, 14 December 1892, and 28 May 1894, NYHS M&P).

Vanderbilt, Mrs. William Kissam
666 Fifth Avenue, N.Y., d.1904, c.1905-07, demolished mid-1920's.

Villard, Henry (Whitelaw Reid House)
451 Madison Avenue, N.Y., d.1882, c.1883-85 and four other houses in block bounded by Fifty and Fifty-first Streets.

Wanamaker, John
Philadelphia, Pa., ca.1902 (Roth attribution).

Wetherill, Mrs. K.A.
St. James, L.I., N.Y.,1894-96.

White, Stanford
St. James, L.I., N.Y., c.1892
Ice house, stables and numerous other appertunances in addition to alterations of main house.

White, Stanford
Alterations Lexington Avenue and 21 Street, N.Y.

Whitney, Harry Payne (now French Embassy Press and Information Office)
972 Fifth Avenue, N.Y., d.1902, c.1902-06, interiors completed 1909.

Whitney, William C. (interiors to brownstone house of the 1880's purchased 1896)
871 Fifth Avenue, N.Y., d.1897, c.1898-1902, demolished 1942.

Whittemore, J.H.
Naugatuck, Conn., 1890 and 1894 (Farmhouse and stables).

Whittier, Charles A.
270 Beacon Street, Boston, Mass. (Moore and Roth attribute to McKim), d.1881, c.1882-83, demolished.

Williams, Charles N.
Buffalo, N.Y., 1895.

Williams, G.L.
871 Fifth Avenue, N.Y., 1899.

Winans, Ross R.
1217 St. Paul Street, Baltimore, Maryland, d.1881, c.1882-83.

Yosemite apartment house
Park Avenue at 62 Street, N.Y., d.1887, c.1888-90. (Roth attribution).

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adam, Robert, Ruins of the Palace of the Emporer Diocletian at Spalatro, in Dalmatia, London, 1764.

Allen, F.L., The Great Pierpont Morgan, New York, 1949

American Architect, "Madison Square Garden, An Account of the Passing of One of New York City's Architectural Landmarks," 128 (20 December 1925): 513-18.

_____, "A Thirty-five Year Test of Materials; A New Technical Report of an Investigation Conducted Upon the Razing of Madison Square Garden," 128 (20 December 1925): 519-24.

American Architect and Building News, "The Artist in Our World," 90 (7 July 1906): 6.

_____, "The Royal Gold Medallist," 81 (18 July 1903): 20-22.

American Institute of Architects Quarterly Bulletin, "Presentation of the Royal Gold Medal by the Royal Institute of British Architects," 4 (July 1903): 83-88.

Ames, Winslow, "The Vermont State House," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 23 (December 1964): 193-99.

_____, "The Vermont State House and Its Furniture," Antiques 88 (August 1965): 200-204.

Andrews, Wayne, Architecture, Ambition and Americans, London, 1964.

_____, Architecture in New York, New York, 1969.

_____, "McKim, Mead and White: New York's Own Architects," The New York Historical Society Quarterly 35 (January 1951): 87-96.

_____, "McKim, Mead and White: Their Mark Remains," New York Times Magazine, January 7, 1951.

_____, Mr. Morgan and His Architect, New York, 1957.

Appel, J.H., The Business Biography of John Wanamaker, Founder and Builder, New York, 1970.

Architectural Record, "William Rutherford Mead," 64 (September 1928): 254.

_____, "Two Notable Buildings," 19 (February 1908): 163-64.

_____, "Court and Pool Building at 'Ferncliff,' the Estate of Co. John Jacob Astor at Rhinebeck, New York," 18 (July 1905): 20-26.

Arendale, M., J.P. Morgan, Image of a Banker, New York, 1974.

Asbury, Edith Evans, "Villard Kinsman Heard on Houses," New York Times, December 11, 1974, p.90.

Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States, Washington, 1932.

Avery Index to Architectural Periodicals, Boston, 1973.

Baldwin, Charles, Stanford White, New York, 1931.

Berkeley, Francis L. Jr., "Rotunda: Facts vs. Fiction," The Declaration, 1 February 1974, pp.7 and 12; 22 February 1974, pp.7 and 10.

Bishop, Morris, A History of Cornell, Ithaca, 1962.

Blake, Channing, "Stanford White's New York City Interiors," Antiques 102 (December 1972): 1060-67.

Bogart, John, "The Industrial Village of Echota at Niagara Falls," Cassier's Magazine 8 (1895): 307-21.

Bouton, Margaret I., "Early Works of Augustus Saint-Gaudens," Doctoral Dissertation, Radcliffe College, 1946.

Bowen, C.W., The History of the Centennial Celebration of the Inauguration of

George Washington, New York, 1889.

Brewer, Cecil Claude, "American Museum Buildings," Royal Institute of British Architects Journal 20 (12 April 1913): 365-98.

Brickbuilder, "William Rutherford Mead as He is Known," 24 (December 1915): 315.

Brown, Elmer Ellsworth; Hastings, Thomas; and Cortissoz, Royal, Memorial Meeting in Honor of the Late Stanford White, New York, 1921.

Buss, D.G., Henry Villard: A Study of Transatlantic Investments and Interests, 1870-1895, New York, 1978.

Canfield, C., The Incredible Pierpont Morgan, New York, 1974.

Casson, H.N., Cyrus Hall McCormick, His Life and Work, Chicago, 1909.

Cavanaugh, T.R. and Payne, E.L., A Frank Lloyd Wright House: Bannerstone House, Springfield, Illinois, Springfield, 1970.

Chafee, Richard, "The Teaching of Architecture at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts," The Architecture of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, edited by Arthur Drexler, New York, 1977.

Choate, Joseph H., Boyhood and Youth, New York, 1917.

Conwell, R.H., The Romantic Rise of a Great American, New York and London, 1924.

Cortissoz, Royal, "William Rutherford Mead, FAIA, 1846-1928," American Architect 134 (5 July 1928): 12.

Craven, Wayne, Sculpture in America, New York, 1968.

Crockett, A.S., When James Gordon Bennett Was Caliph of Baghdad, New York, 1926.

Croly, Herbert D., "The Harmonie Club Houses," Architectural Record 19 (April 1906): 236-43.

_____, "The Layout of a Large Estate. 'Harbor Hill,' The Country Seat of Mr. Clarence Mackay at Roslyn, L.I.,"

	Architectural Record 16 (December 1904): 531-55.
Curran, Frances, ed.,	Trinity Church: One Hundred Years, 1869-1969, A Centennial History, Roslyn, 1969.
David, A.C.,	"An Architectural Oasis," Architectural Record 19 (February 1906): 135-44.
_____,	"The Finest Store in the World," Architectural Record 17 (January 1905): 42-49.
David, Richard Harding,	Collier's Weekly, August 18, 1906.
Desmond, Henry W. and Croly, Herbert,	"The Work of Messrs. McKim, Mead and White," Architectural Record 20 (September 1906): 153-246.
Dorr, Charles H.,	"A Study of Church Decoration, The Paulist Father's Church in New York City and Notes on the Work of W.L. Harris," Architectural Record 33 (March 1913): 187-203.
Downing, Antoinette F. and Scully, Vincent J., Jr.,	The Architectural Heritage of Newport, Rhode Island, Cambridge, Mass., 1952.
Draper, Joan,	"The Ecole des Beaux-Arts and the Architectural Profession in the United States," The Architect: Chapters in the History of the Profession, edited by Spiro Kostof, New York, 1977.
Drexler, Arthur, ed.,	The Architecture of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, New York, 1977. (Catalogue of same title, 1975).
Eaton, Leonard K.,	American Architecture Comes of Age, Cambridge, Mass., 1972.
_____,	Two Chicago Architects and Their Clients: Frank Lloyd Wright and Howard van Doren Shaw, Cambridge, Mass., 1969.
_____,	"W.H. Winslow and the Winslow House," Prairie School Review 1 (Third Quarter 1964): 12-14.

Edward, Duke of Windsor, A King's Story, New York, 1951.

Fein, Albert Frederick Law Olmsted and the Environmentalist Tradition, New York, 1972.

Ferry, W. Hawkins, The Buildings of Detroit; A History, Detroit, 1968.

Floyd, Margaret Henderson, "A Terra-Cotta Cornerstone for Copley Square: An Assessment of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, by Sturgis and Brigham (1870-1876) in the Context of its English Technological and Stylistic Origins," Doctoral Dissertation, Boston University, 1974.

_____, "A Terra-Cotta Cornerstone for Copley Square: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: 1870-76, by Sturgis and Brigham," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 32 (May 1973): 83-103.

Gaudet, Julien, Éléments et Théorie d'Architecture, Paris, 1901.

Gibbons, H.A., John Wanamaker, New York and London, 1926.

Giedion, Sigfried, Space, Time and Architecture, Cambridge, Mass., 1962.

Gill, Brendan, "True White from False," New York Times Magazine, October 19, 1975, pp.14-16, 66.

Goldberger, Paul, "Villard Houses: Option for the Future," New York Times, December 9, 1974, p.54.

Goldsmith, Goldwin, "I Remember McKim, Mead and White," American Institute of Architects Journal 13 (April 1950): 168-72.

Granberg, W.J., The World of John Pulitzer, London, 1965.

Grainger, Alfred Hoyt, Charles Follen McKim: A Study of His Life and Work, Boston and New York, 1913.

Greenberg, Allan, "The Lurking American Legacy," Architectural Forum 138 (May 1973): 54-55.

Gross, T.L., Thomas Nelson Page, New York, 1967.

Hedges, J.B., Henry Villard and the Railways of the Northwest, New York, 1967.

Hewlett, J. Monroe, Hoppins and Ross, "Stanford White as Those Trained in His Office Knew Him," Brickbuilder 15 (December 1906): 245.

Hill, Frederick Parsell, Charles F. McKim, the Man, Francestown, N.H., 1950.

Hirsch, M.D., William C. Whitney, New York, 1948.

Hitchcock, Henry-Russell, Architecture, Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, Baltimore, 1963.

_____, "Frank Lloyd Wright and the Academic Tradition of the Early 1890's," Warburg and Courtauld Institute Journal 7 (January/June 1944): 46-63.

_____, The Life and Times of Henry Hobson Richardson, Cambridge, Mass., 1970.

_____, Rhode Island Architecture, Providence, 1939.

_____, "Sullivan and the Skyscraper," Royal Institute of British Architects' Journal 60 (July 1953): 253-61.

House and Garden, "The Clock Tower, Mr. and Mrs. Persifer Frazer's Remodelled Stable at Newport, R.I.,"91(February 1947): 68-71.

Howe, Frank Maynard, "Architecture in Kansas City," Architectural Record 15 (February 1904): 134-57.

Hudnut, Joseph, "Crow's Island School, Winnetka, Illinois," Architectural Forum 75 (August 1941): 83, 85, 89 and 91.

_____, "Kleinhan's Music Hall, Buffalo, N.Y.," Architectural Forum 75 (July 1941): 37-41.

_____, "The Last of the Romans: Comment on the Building of the National Gallery of Art," Magazine of Art 34 (April 1941): 169-73.

_____, "Smithsonian Competition Results," Magazine of Art 32 (August 1939): 456-59 and 488-89.

Hussey, Christopher, The Life of Sir Edwin Lutyens, London, 1953.

Hutchinson, W.T., Cyrus H. McCormick, New York, 1968.

Huxtable, Ada Louise, "Another Chapter in the Urban Saga--How Three Causes Were Saved," New York Times, September 21, 1975 (Section 2), p.31.

_____, "The Needless Sacrifice of the Villard Houses," New York Times, June 22, 1975, p.31.

_____, "The Plot Thickens," New York Sunday Times, February 14, 1971 (Section 2), p.25.

_____, "New York Can Learn a Lot From St. Louis," New York Times, January 26, 1975 (Section 2), p.30.

_____, "They Call This Saving a Landmark," New York Times, January 5, 1975 (Section 2), p.29.

Jacobs, Herbert, Frank Lloyd Wright, America's Greatest Architect, New York, 1965.

Jacobs, Herbert and Katherine, Building with Frank Lloyd Wright: An Illustrated Memoir, San Francisco, 1978.

Johnson, Philip, "Is Sullivan the Father of Functionalism?" Art News 55 (December 1956): 44-46, 56-57.

Jordy, William H. and Coe, Ralph, eds., American Architecture and Other Writings by Montgomery Schuyler, Cambridge, Mass., 1961.

Juergens, George, John Pulitzer and the New York World, Princeton, 1966.

Kaufmann, Edgar, Jr., ed., The Rise of an American Architecture, New York, 1970.

Ketchum, R.M., "Faces from the Past: E. Nesbit at Thaw-White Murder Trial," American Heritage 20 (June 1969): 64-65.

King Model Dwellings,	New York, 1891.
Koch, Robert,	Louis C. Tiffany, Rebel in Glass, New York, 1964.
Kimball, Fiske,	Mr. Samuel McIntire, Carver, the Architect of Salem, Salem, Mass., 1940.
Kirke, Harold,	The Architecture of Charles Bulfinch, Cambridge, Mass., 1969.
Langford, Gerald	The Murder of Stanford White, Indianapolis, 1962.
Letarouilly, Paul Marie,	Edifices de Rome Moderne, Paris, 1840.
Logan, Andy,	"That Was New York, the Palace of Delight," New Yorker 41 (27 February 1965): 41-93.
Lubove, Roy,	"I.N. Phelps Stokes: Tenement Architect, Economist, Planner," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 23(May 1964): 75-87.
Manson, Grant,	"Sullivan and Wright, An Uneasy Union of Celts," Architectural Review 118 (November 1955): 297-300.
Martin, E.S.,	The Life of Joseph H. Choate, London, 1920.
McCandlish, Phillips,	"City Seeks a Way to Save Harlem Enclave," New York Times, March 30, 1972 (Section L), p.39.
MacCracken, Henry M.,	In Memoriam, New York, 1923.
McKim, Mead and White,	A Monograph of the Works of McKim, Mead and White, 4 v., New York, 1915-20, reprinted by Benjamin Blom, New York, 1973 with an introduction by Leland Roth.
McQuade, W.,	"White and the Wherewithall," Architectural Forum 123 (November 1965): 70.
Moger, Roy W.,	Roslyn Then and Now, Roslyn, L.I., 1963.

Moholy-Nagy, Sibyl, The Architecture of Paul Rudolph, London, 1970.

_____, Moholy-Nagy: Experiment in Totality, Cambridge, Mass., 1969.

Moore, Charles The Life and Times of Charles Follen McKim, Boston and New York, 1929.

Moran, Geoffrey P., "The Post Office and Custom House at Portsmouth, New Hampshire and Its Architect A.B. Young," Old-Time New England 57 (Spring 1967): 85-102.

Morton, T.B., "Wright's Pope-Leighey House," Prairie School Review 4 (Fourth Quarter 1967): 20-26.

Morrison, Hugh, Louis Sullivan, Prophet of Modern Architecture, New York, 1952.

Moses, Lionel, "McKim, Mead and White: A History," American Architecture 121 (24 May 1922): 413-24.

Myers, John Walden, "The New York Work of Stanford White," Museum of the City of New York Bulletin 5 (March 1942): 46-52.

National Cyclopedia of American Biography, 1895-Present.

Nelson, Lee H., "White, Furness, McNally and the Capital National Bank of Salem, Oregon," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 19 (May 1960): 57-61.

Nesbit, Evelyn, Prodigal Days, the Untold Story, New York, 1934.

New Yorker, "Villard Houses," May 11, 1946. (Other back-up articles on the same: New York Times, June 17 and July 2, 1944; New York Herald Tribune, January 30, 1946 and October 22, 1948; New York World Telegram, October 21, 1948).

New York Historical Society Annual Report for the Year 1968, . . . and 1970.

New York Historical Society Quarterly,	"McKim, Mead and White Archives," 34 (October 1950): 346.
New York Times,	"Baker Hall of Philosophy, NYU," May 19, 1912.
O'Gorman, James F.,	"O.W. Norcross, Richardson's 'Master Builder,' a Preliminary Report," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 32 (May 1973): 104-113.
O'Neal, William B.,	Architectural Drawings in Virginia, 1819-1969, Charlottesville, Va., 1969.
_____,	Pictorial History of the University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Va., 1968.
Owings, Nathaniel A.,	The Grand Design, Washington, D.C., 1967.
Page, R.,	Thomas Nelson Page, a Memoir of a Virginia Gentleman, New York, 1923.
Pencil Points,	"William Rutherford Mead," 9 (August 1928): 529.
Pevsner, Nikolaus,	North-East Norfolk and Norwich, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England, 1962.
Phillips, McCandish,	"City Seeks a Way to Save Harlem Enclave," New York Times, March 30, 1972 (Section L), p.39.
Ramsey, Stanley C.,	"The Work of McKim, Mead and White," Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects 25 (November 5, 1917): 25-29.
Rand McNally Handy Railroad Atlas of the United States,	Chicago, 1971.
Read, Henry Hope, Jr.,	The Golden City, Garden City, N.J., 1959.
Reinink, A.W.,	"American Influence on Late Nineteenth Century Architecture in the Netherlands," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 29 (May 1970): 163-74.

Roseberry, Cecil R., Capitol Story, Albany, 1964.

Ross, Peter, A History of Long Island, New York, 1902.

Roth, Leland Martin, The Architecture of McKim, Mead and White, 1870-1920, A Building List, New York, 1978.

_____, A Monograph of the Works of McKim, Mead and White, New York, 1973. (1st ed. 1915-20).

_____, "The Urban Architecture of McKim, Mead and White, 1870-1910," Doctoral Dissertation, Yale University, 1973.

Royal Institute of British Architects, Catalogue of the Drawing Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects, L-N, London, 1973.

Saarinen, Aileen, "Splendid World of Stanford White," Life 61 (September 16, 1966): 87-101.

Saint-Gaudens, Homer, ed., "Intimate Letters of Stanford White, Correspondence with His Friend and Co-Worker Augustus Saint-Gaudens," Architectural Record 30 (1911): 107-16, 283-98, 399-406.

_____, The Reminiscenses of Augustus Saint-Gaudens, 2v., New York, 1913.

Satterlee, H.L., J. Pierpont Morgan; An Intimate Portrait, New York, 1939.

Sauvageot, Claude, Pâlais, Chateau, Hôtels et Maisons de France du XV ou XVIII Siècle, Paris, 1867.

Schroeder, Francis de N., "Stanford White and the Second Blossoming of the Renaissance," Interiors 110 (February 1951): 106-09.

Schuyler, Montgomery, "McKim, Mead and White," Scribner's Magazine 54 (December 1913): 791-94.

_____, "A Modern Classic," Architectural Record 15 (May 1904): 431-44.

_____, "Romanesque Revival in America," Architectural Record 1 (July 1891): 151-98.

Scully, Vincent, Jr., "American Houses: Thomas Jefferson to Frank Lloyd Wright," The Rise of an American Architecture, edited by Edgar Kaufmann, New York, 1970.

_____, The Shingle Style and the Stick Style, New Haven, 1955.

_____, The Shingle Style Today or the Historian's Revenge, New York, 1974.

Seitz, D.C., The James Gordon Bennetts Father and Son, Indianapolis, 1926.

Sheldon, George W., Artistic Country Seats, New York, 1886-87.

Stebbins, Theodore E., Jr., "Richardson and Trinity Church: the Evolution of a Building," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 27 (December 1968): 281-98.

Stokes, I.N. Phelps, The Iconography of Manhattan Island, New York, 1915-28.

Strawberry Bank Inc., Architecture Near the Piscataqua, Portsmouth, N.H., 1964.

Strong, T.G., Joseph H. Choate, New Englander, New Yorker, Lawyer, Ambassador, New York, 1917.

Sturgis, Russell, "A Fine Work of American Sculpture," Architectural Record 15 (April 1908): 293-311.

_____, "Great American Architects Series: McKim, Mead and White," Architectural Record (Supplement) 4 (May 1895): 1-111.

_____, "The Warehouse and the Factory in Architecture," Architectural Record 15 (January 1904): 1-17; (February 1904): 122-33.

Sullivan, Louis H., The Autobiography of an Idea, New York, 1956.

Swanberg, W.A., Pulitzer, New York, 1967.

Swarbrick, John, The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adams, Chicago, 1959.

Tebbel, John W., An American Dynasty, New York, 1968.

Tharp, Louis Hall, Saint-Gaudens and the Gilded Age, Boston, 1969.

Tipping, H. Avray, English Homes 1760-1820, London, 1926.

Tselos, Dimitri, "The Chicago Fair and the Myth of the 'Lost Cause,'" Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 26 (December 1967): 259-68.

Van Brunt, Henry, "Richard Morris Hunt," American Institute of Architects Journal 8 (October 1947): 180-87.

Van Rensselaer, Mariana Griswold, "American Country Dwellings," The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine, May 1886, pp.5-25.

_____, Henry Hobson Richardson and His Works, New York, 1969 (1st ed. 1888).

_____, "Mr. St. Gaudens Statue of Admiral Farragut in New York," American Architect and Building News 10 (10 September 1881): 119-20.

Van Trump, James D., An American Palace of Culture: The Carnegie Institute and Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, 1970.

Venturi, Robert and Brown, Denise Scott, Learning from Las Vegas, Cambridge, Mass., 1972.

Villard, Henry, Memoires of Henry Villard, Journalist and Financier, 1835-1900, New York, 1969.

Villard, Henry S., "Embattled Midtown Landmarks," New York Times, February 10, 1975, p.26.

Viollet-le-Duc, E.E., Habitation of Man in All Ages, Boston and London, 1876.

Vitruvius Pollio, Marcus, The Ten Books on Architecture, translated by Morris Hicky Morgan, New York, 1960 (reprint of Cambridge, Mass., ed., 1914).

Walker, C. Howard, "Joseph Wells, Architect, 1853-1890," Architectural Record 66 (July 1929): 14-18.

Weinberg, Helene Barbara, "The Work of John La Farge in the Church of St. Paul the Apostle," American Art Journal 6 (1974): 18-34.

Weisman, Winston, "A New View of Skyscraper History," The Rise of an American Architecture, edited by Edgar Kaufmann, Jr., New York, 1970.

_____, "Philadelphia Functionalism and Sullivan," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 20 (March 1961): 3-19.

Wheeler, G., Pierpont Morgan and Friends, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1973.

Whiffen, Marcus, American Architecture Since 1780. A Guide to the Styles, Cambridge, Mass., 1969.

White, Lawrence Grant, Sketches and Designs by Stanford White, New York, 1920.

White, Norval and Willensky, Elliott, AIA Guide to New York City, New York, 1968.

White, Stanford, Bound Volume of Photographs of Stanford White's Residence at St. James, L.I., owned by The New York Historical Society.

_____, "The Buildings of the University of Virginia," Corks and Curls 2 (1898): 127-30.

Winkler, J.K., Morgan the Magnificent, New York, 1930.

Withey, H.F. and E.R., Biographical Dictionary of American Architects (Deceased), Los Angeles, 1956.

Wodehouse, Lawrence, "Alfred B. Mullett and His French Style Government Buildings," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 31 (March 1972): 22-37.

_____, "Ammi Burnham Young, 1798-1874,"

Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 25 (December 1966): 268-80.

_____, "Ammi Young's Architecture in Northern New England," Vermont History, Spring 1968, pp.53-60.

_____, "Stanford White and the Mackays: A Case Study of Architect-Client Relationships," Winterthur Portfolio 11 (1976): 213-33.

_____, "William Appleton Potter, Principal Pasticheur of Henry Hobson Richardson," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 32 (May 1973): 175-92.

Wotton, Henry, The Elements of Architecture, Collected from the Best Authors, London, 1624.

Wood, John, The Younger, Plans for Cottages or Habitations of the Labourer, London, 1806.

Zion, Robert L., "How Our Half Lives, A Stanford White is Restored and Redesigned," Landscape Architecture 44 (April 1954): 127-31.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Abbreviations: M - A Monograph of the Work of McKim, Mead and White, 1879-1915. 4 vols. New York. 1915-20 (Reprint New York, 1973)

W - Lawrence Wodehouse

15. Ogden and Robert Goelet Mausoleum, Woodlawn Cemetery, N.Y., 1899 (M pl.217).

16. Louis Sherry Mausoleum, Woodlawn Cemetery, N.Y., 1905 (W).

17. H.H. Richardson, Trinity Church, Boston, 1872-77 (W).

18. H.H. Richardson's sketch of the Trinity Church tower, 1874 (Shepley, Bulfinch, Richardson and Abbott, architects, Boston).

19. White's drawing for Trinity Church tower, 1874 (Shepley, Bulfinch, Richardson and Abbott, architects, Boston).

20. Ames Memorial Public Library, North Easton, Mass; Drawing by White? (Mariana Griswold Van Rensselaer, Henry Hobson Richardson and His Work, N.Y., 1888, p.70).

21. H.H. Richardson, Watts Sherman House, Newport, R.I., 1874-75 (W).

22. White's drawing of the Sherman House hall and staircase (New York Sketch Book, 1875).

23. Samuel McIntire, Pingree House, Salem, Mass., 1804 (W).

24. Samuel McIntire, Hamilton Hall, Salem, Mass., 1806 (W).

25. Colony Club, N.Y., 1906 (M pl.281).

26. Customhouse, Salem, Mass., 1819 (W).

27. Governor John Langdon house, Portsmouth, N.H., 1784 (W).

28. Ammi B. Young, Post Office and Customhouse, Portsmouth, N.H., 1855 (W).

29. Villard Mansion, N.Y., 1882-85 (M pl.8).

30. "View of Port Ferrea," from Robert Adam, Ruins of the Palace of the Emporer Diocletian at Spalatro, 1764, pl.18.

31. Prospect Park, Brooklyn, N.Y., Coney Island Avenue Entrance, 1890 (M pl.20).

32. Metropolitan Club, N.Y., 1891-94 (M pl.57).

33. John Jacob Astor Casino, Rhinebeck, N.Y., 1902-04 (M pl.113).

34. Mrs. Herman Oelricks House, "Rosecliff" Newport, R.I., 1897-1902 (W).

35. Charles J. Osborn house, Mamaroneck, N.Y., 1883-85 (M pl.13).

36. Charles J. Osborn, stables, Mamaroneck, N.Y., 1883-85 (M pl.20).

37. Charles J. Osborn, gatelodge, Mamaroneck, N.Y., 1883-85 (M pl.19).

38. Isaac Bell House, Newport, R.I., 1882-83 (W).

39. Robert Goelet house, Newport, R.I., 1882-83 (W).

40. Charles L. Tiffany house, N.Y., 1882-85 (M pl.5).

41. Charles L. Tiffany dining room (American Architect and Building News 12 (10 December 1887): illus.624).

42. Ross Winans house, Baltimore, Md., 1881-83 (W).

43. Charles A. Whittier house, Beacon Street, Boston, 1881-83 by McKim, Mead and White (right) and the F.L. Higginson house (left) by H.H. Richardson, 1881-83 (American Architect and Building News 14 (24 November 1883) pl.413).

44. Judson Memorial Church, N.Y., 1888-96 (W).

45. St. Bartholomew's Church Porch (Commodore Vanderbilt Memorial), N.Y., 1901-03 (W).

46. St. Gilles-du-Gard, France, 12th century (W).

47. First Methodist-Episcopal (now Lovely Lane) Church, Baltimore, Md., 1882-87 (W).

48. Women's College of Baltimore (later, but no longer Goucher College), Baltimore, Md., 1887-94 (W).

49. Dr. John Goucher house, Baltimore, Md., 1891-92 (W).

50. Niagara Falls Power Station, Niagara Falls, N.Y., 1890-92. Extreme left, Power House number 2, and right, Power House number 1 (Niagara Falls Historical Society, Inc.).

51. Niagara Falls Power Station, Niagara Falls, N.Y., Power House number 2 (Niagara Falls Historical Society, Inc.).

52. Echota, N.Y., typical street (Niagara Falls Historical Society, Inc.).

53. American Safe Deposit Company, N.Y., 1882 (Museum of the City of New York).

54. Ramona (Indian Girls') School, Santa Fe, N.M., 1882 (New York Historical Society).

55. Villard Mansions, N.Y., 1882-86 (W).

56. Villard Mansions, N.Y., plan, 1882-86 (M pl.7).

57. Robert Garrett's house, Mount Vernon Place, Baltimore, Md., 1883-93 (W).

58. Striver's Row, north side of 139th Street between Seventh and Eighth Avenues, N.Y., 1891 (W).

59. Russell and Erwin Building, New Britain, Conn., 1883-84 (M pl.18).

60. New York Life Insurance Company Building, Kansas City, Mo., 1887-90 (M pl.22).

61. Cable Building, N.Y., 1894 (W).

62. Goelet Building, N.Y., 1886, with additional storeys (W).

63. New York Life Insurance Company Building, N.Y., 1896-99 (W).

64. Gorham Building, N.Y., 1903-06 (M pl.234).

65. Tiffany Building, N.Y., 1903-06 (M pl.261).

66. Joseph Pulitzer House, N.Y., 1900-03 (M pl.181).

67. Century Club, N.Y., 1889-91 (M pl.27).

68. New York Herald Building, N.Y., 1892-95 (M pl.64).

69. Madison Square Garden, N.Y., 1887-91 (M pl.32).

70. Mackay Residence, Harbor Hill, Roslyn, L.I., 1899-1906 (M pl.166).

71. "Château de Maisons-sur-Seine, Elèvation sur la Cour." From Claude Sauvageot, Palais, Châteaux, Hôtels et Maisons de France du XV au XVIII Siècle, Paris, vol.2, pl.3.

72. "Hôtel de Vogué a Dijon, Façade sur la rue Notre-Dame." From Claude Sauvageot, Pâlais, Châteaux, Hotels et Maisons, vol.1, pl.2.

73. "Ancien Hôtel de Montescot à Chartres, Entrée de l'Hôtel." From Claude Sauvageot, Pâlais, Châteaux, Hôtels et Maisons, vol.2, pl.3.

74. Mackay Residence, Harbor Hill, Roslyn, L.I., Main entrance (M pl.166).

75. Mackay Residence, Harbor Hill, Roslyn, L.I., lodge (W).

76. Mackay Residence, Harbor Hill, Roslyn, L.I., ground floor plan (M pl.169).

77. Mackay Residence, Harbor Hill, Roslyn, L.I., Main hall (Bryant Library, Roslyn, L.I.).

78. Mackay Residence, Harbor Hill, Roslyn, L.I., dining room (M pl.167).

79. Mackay Residence, Harbor Hill, Roslyn, L.I., Stone Room (M pl.167).

80. Mackay Residence, Harbor Hill, Roslyn, L.I., staircase (M pl.168).

81. Trinity Church, Roslyn, L.I., 1905-07 (W).

82. Trinity Church, Roslyn, L.I., interior (W).

83. Mrs. William K. Vanderbilt, Jr., house, N.Y., 1904-07 (M pl.259).

84. Mrs. Elliott F. Shepard house, Scarborough, N.Y., 1890-95 (M pl.70).

85. Thomas Nelson Page house, Washington, D.C., 1896-97 (M pl.95).

86. Colony Club, N.Y., 1904-08 (W).

87. Cornell University Medical College, N.Y., 1898-1901 (M pl.157).

88. James L. Breese house, Southampton, L.I., 1898-1907 (M pl.271).

89. Garden City Hotel, Garden City, L.I., 1894-1901 (M pl.72).

90. Church of Christ, Hanover, N.H., 1790, interior, 1899 (Dartmouth College Archives).

91. Prospect Park, Brooklyn, N.Y., Croquet Shelter, 1906 (W).

92. Prospect Park, Brooklyn, N.Y., Croquet Shelter, interior, 1906 (W).

93. New York University, Bronx, N.Y., Hall of Languages (left), 1892-1903), Gould Library (right), 1892-1903 (M pl.76).

94. New York University, Bronx, N.Y., Gould Library (W).

95. New York University, Bronx, N.Y., plan, 1892-1903 (M pl.74).

96. New York University, Bronx, N.Y., interior of Gould Library (M pl.77).

97. University of Virginia Rotunda (1823-24), Charlottesville, Va., remodelled interior by White, 1896-98 (W).

98. University of Virginia, Cabell Hall, 1899 (M pl.112).

99. University of Virginia, Rouss Hall, 1898 (W).

100. University of Virginia, Cocke Hall, 1898 (M pl.112).

101. University of Virginia, plan 1817, and additions by White 1896-99 (M pl.110).

102. University of Virginia Rotunda (W).

103. University of Virginia Rotunda remodelling, stair from portico level, 1974-76 (W).

104. University of Virginia Rotunda interior remodelling, 1974-76 (W).

105. Madison Square Presbyterian Church, N.Y., 1903-06 (M pl.251).

106. Madison Square Presbyterian Church, N.Y., plan and Twenty-fourth Street elevation, 1903-06 (M pl.255).

107. Naugatuck High School, Naugatuck, Conn., 1901-05 (W).

108. Knickerbocker Trust Co., N.Y., 1901-04 (M pl.209).

109. United States Military Academy, West Point, N.Y., Cullum Memorial Hall, 1893-98 (M pl.116).

110. United States Military Academy, West Point, N.Y., Cullum Memorial Hall, interior of upper level (M pl.117).

111. Interborough Rapid Transit Power House, N.Y., 1900-04 (M pl.207).

112. State Savings Bank, Detroit, Mich., 1898-1900 (M pl.125).

113. Augustus Saint-Gaudens: Admiral David S. Farragut Monument, Madison Square, N.Y., 1879-81 (W).

114. Augustus Saint-Gaudens: Villard Mansion, N.Y., Dining Room alcoves with designs of fish (M pl.11).

115. Augustus Saint-Gaudens: Sketch of a fish. (Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site, Cornish, N.H.).

116. Augustus Saint-Gaudens: Relief sculptures on either side of entrance, D. Stewart Mausoleum, Greenwood Cemetery, Brooklyn, N.Y., 1885 (W).

117. Augustus Saint-Gaudens: Peter Cooper Monument, N.Y., 1894-97 (W).

118. Augustus Saint-Gaudens: "Diana," Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site, Cornish, N.H. (W).

119. A. Phimister Proctor, "Panthers" at West Park and Third Street entrance to Prospect Park, Brooklyn, N.Y. (W).

120. Philip Martiny: Eagles on the New York Life Insurance Company Building, N.Y. (W).

121. Philip Martiny: Portico ceiling decoration, the New York Life Insurance Company Building, N.Y. (W).

122. Frederick MacMonnies: Nathan Hale statue, City Hall Park, N.Y. (W).

123. Grand Army Plaza entrance to Prospect Park, Brooklyn, N.Y. (W).

124. Circular Temple at Grand Army Plaza entrance to Prospect Park, Brooklyn, N.Y. (M pl.31).

125. Frederick MacMonnies: "Horse Tamers," Park Circle entrance, Prospect Park, Brooklyn, N.Y. (W).

126. Bowery and Grand Street, N.Y., showing the two porticoed entrances to the Bowery Savings Bank (W).

127. Bowery Savings Bank, N.Y., Grand Street entrance, 1893-95 (W).

128. Frederick MacMonnies: Pediment sculptures on the Grand Street entrance to the Bowery Savings Bank, N.Y. (W).

129. Frederick MacMonnies: Pediment sculptures on the Grand Street entrance to the Bowery Savings Bank, N.Y. (W).

130. Bowery Savings Bank, N.Y., Bowery Street entrance (W).

131. Frederick MacMonnies: Pediment sculptures on the Bowery Street entrance of the Bowery Savings Bank, N.Y. (W).

132. Frederick MacMonnies: "General Slocum," Grand Army Plaza, Brooklyn, N.Y. (W).

133. Washington Arch, Fifth Avenue, N.Y., temporary papier-mache structure, 1889 (Museum of the City of New York). Photographer: Paul C. Oscanyan.

134. Washington Arch, N.Y., north face, 1889-95 (W).

135. Frederick MacMonnies: Spandrels and, Philip Martiny: Eagle, Washington Arch, N.Y., south face (W).

136. Hermon A. McNeil: "General Washington," flanked by Valor and Fame, Washington Arch, N.Y., completed 1918 (W).

137. Alexander Stirling Calder: "General Washington," flanked by Wisdom and Justice, Washington Arch, N.Y., completed 1918 (W).

138. Prison Ship Martyrs Monument, Fort Greene, Brooklyn, N.Y., 1900-08 (W).

139. Church of the Paulist Fathers, N.Y., 1876 by Jeremiah O'Rourke. High Altar by White, 1890 (W).

140. Bertram Goodhue: St. Bartholomew's Church, N.Y., 1919, with porch by White, 1901-03, transferred from the 1872 St. Bartholomew's (W).

141. James W. O'Connor: St. Bartholomew's Church, N.Y., Tympanum over central door (W).

142. Herbert Adams: St. Bartholomew's Church, N.Y., Tympanum over north (left hand) door (W).

143. Herbert Adams: St. Bartholomew's Church, N.Y., Lintol between doors (W).

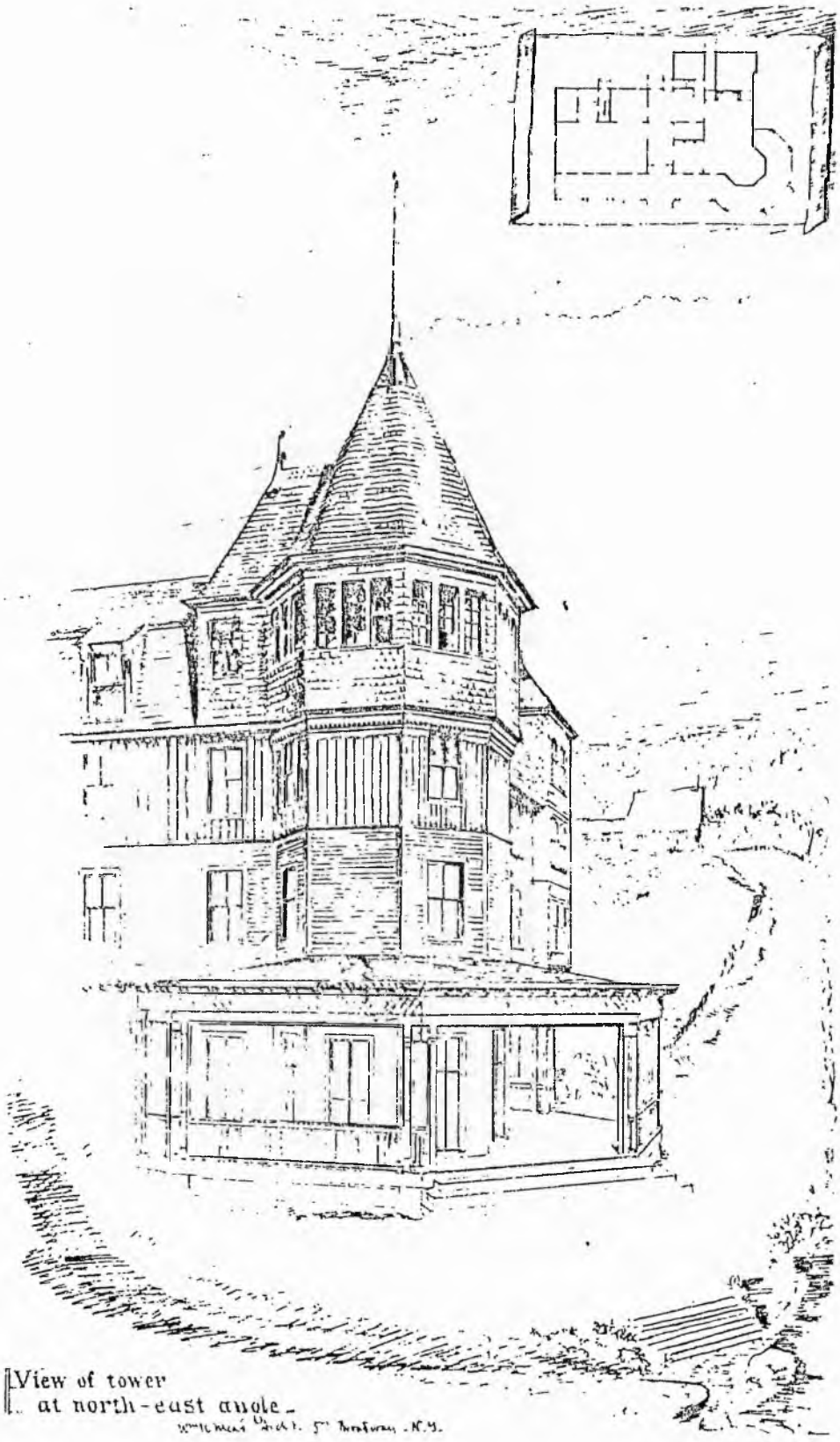
144. Philip Martiny: St. Bartholomew's Church, N.Y., Tympanum over south (right hand) door (W).

145. James W. O'Connor: Lions on either side of a cartouche, Gorham Building, N.Y. (W).

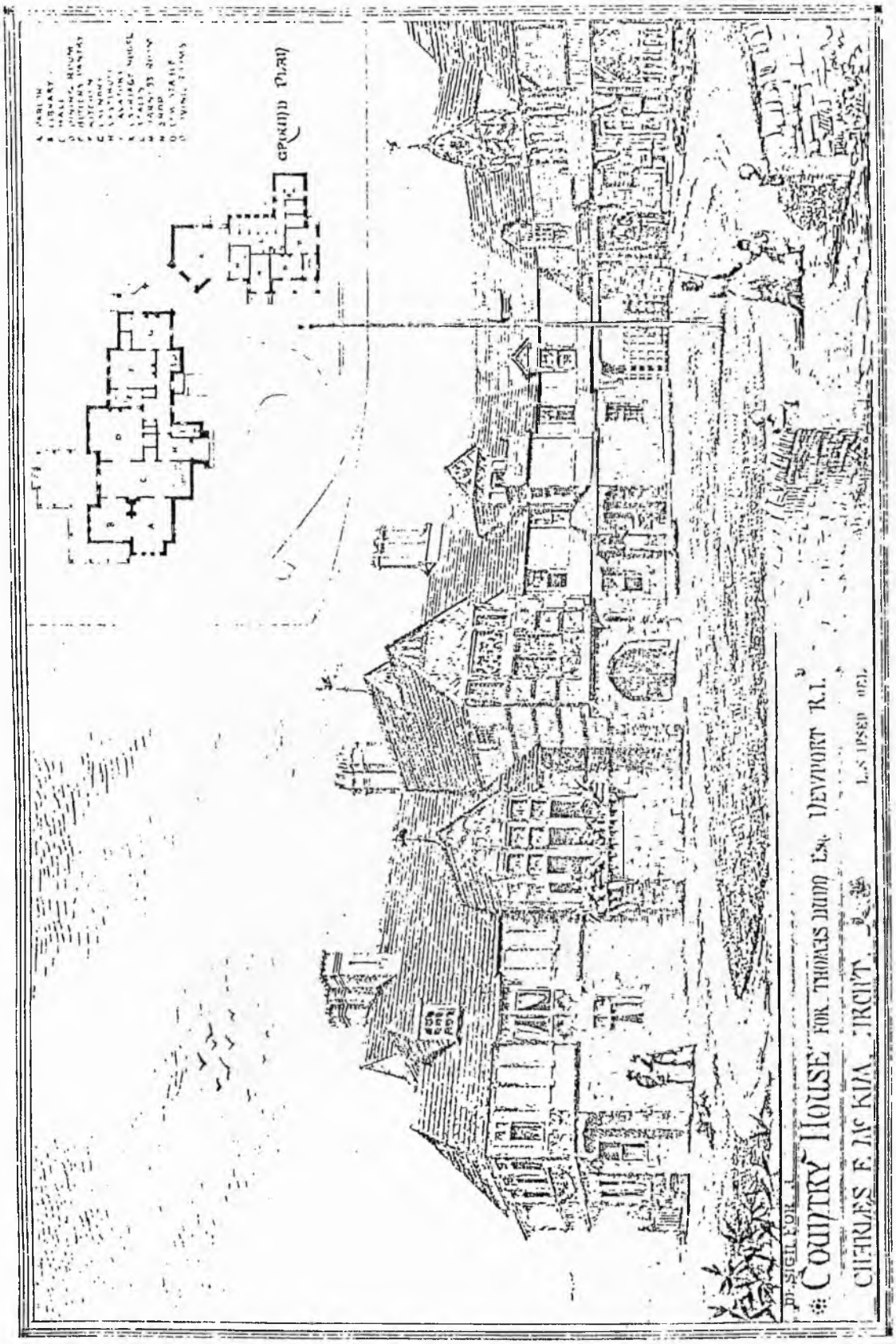
146. Antonin Carles: Minerva and Bell Strikers for the Herald Building, 1894 (demolished 1921), now in Herald Square (W).

147. Stanford White Memorial Doors, Gould Library, New York University, Bronx, N.Y., 1919 (W).

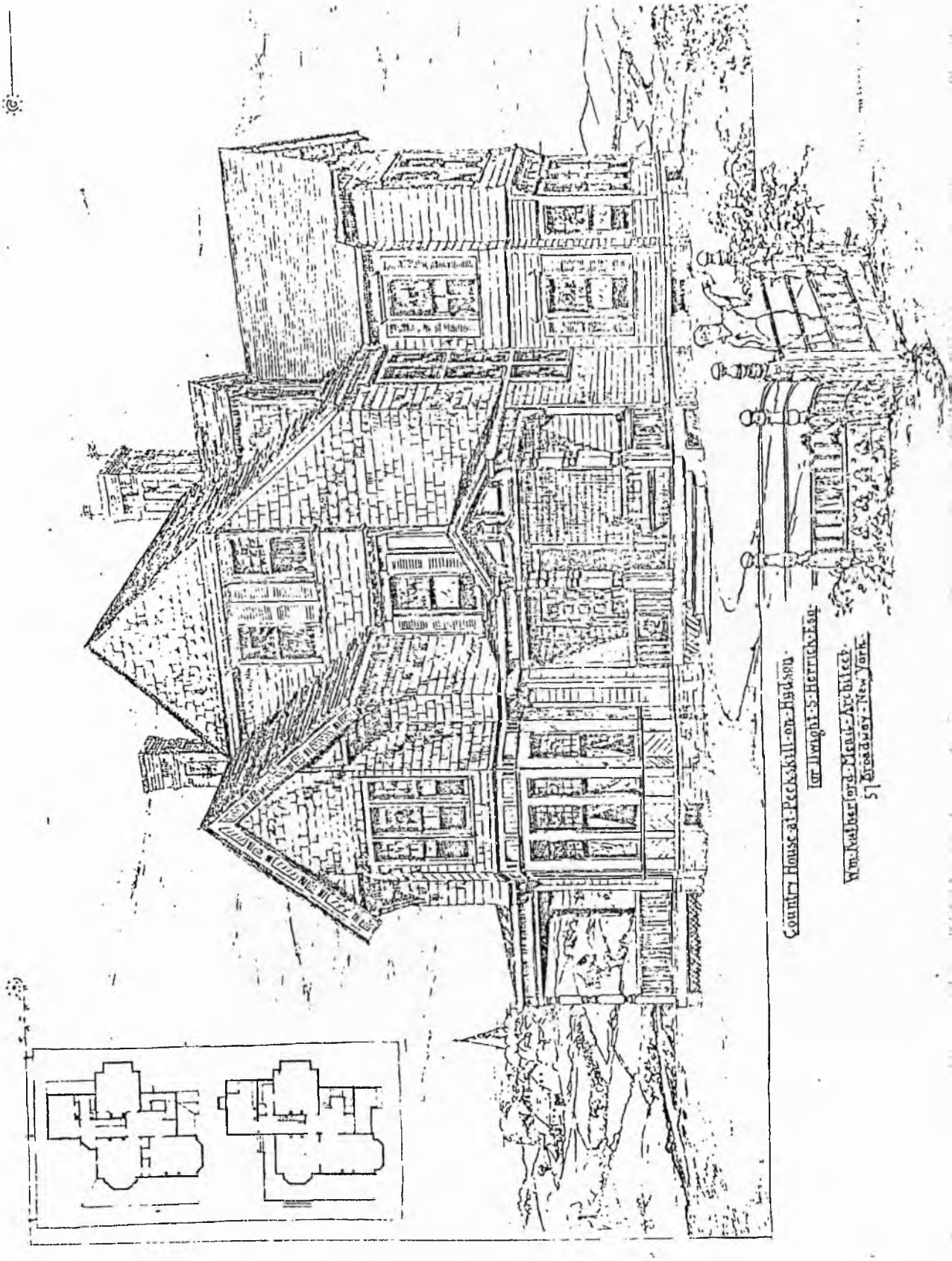
148. Stanford White Memorial Doors, Gould Library, New York University, Bronx, N.Y., 1919. Details of O'Connor's "Generosity," Martiny's "Architecture," Herbert Adams's "Sculpture," and Adolph Weinman's "Drama," with Ulysses Ricci Lion handles (W).



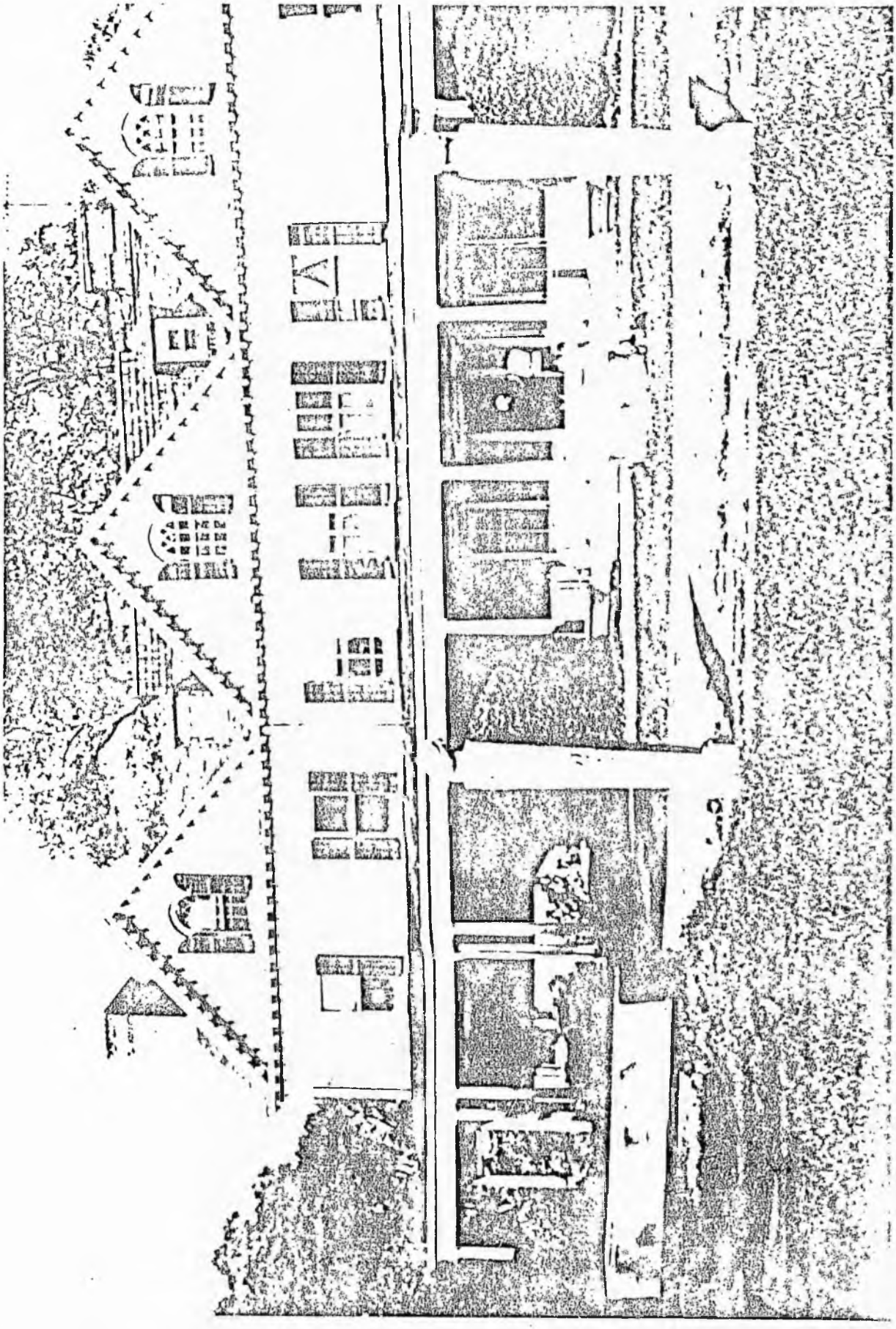
1. W. R. Mead, Cayuga Lake Hotel, New York (New York Sketch Book 2 (April 1875) pl.16 .



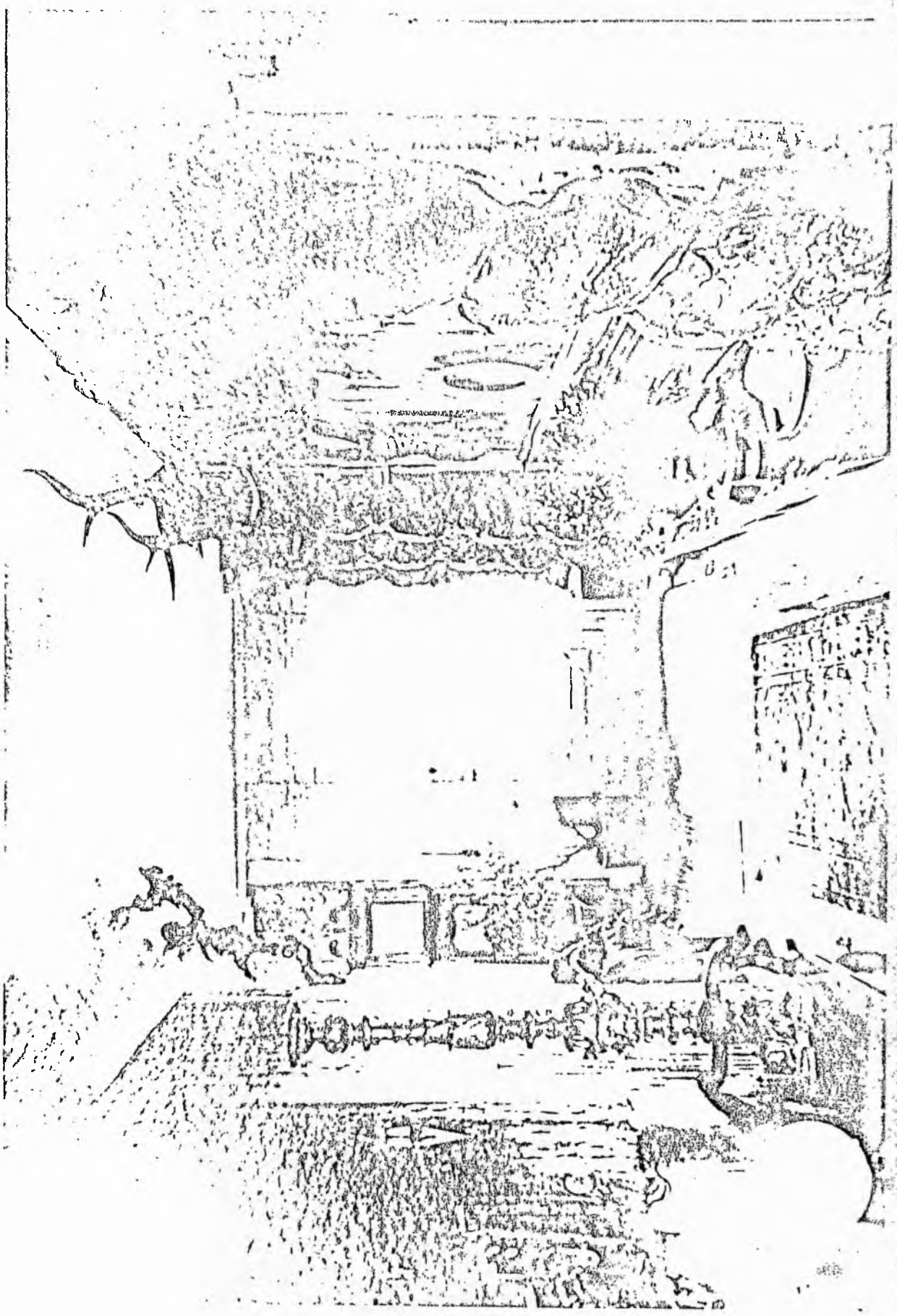
2. W. R. Mead, Thomas Dunn House, Newport, R.I. (American Architect and Building News 2 (28 July 1877) illus.83)



3. W. R. Mead, Dwight S. Herrick House, Peekskill on Hudson, N.Y. (American Architect and Building News 2 (30 June 1877) after p.206).

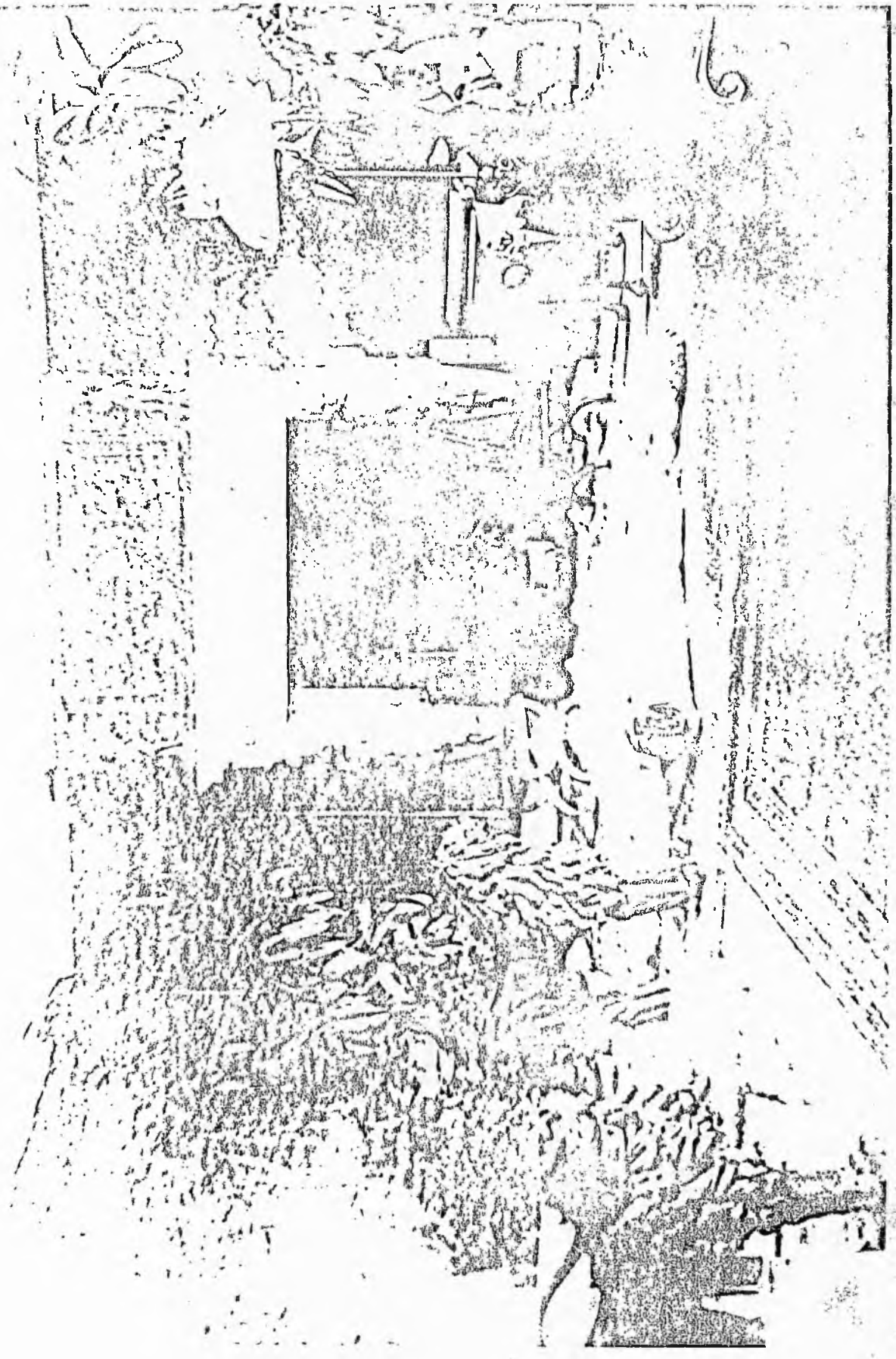


4. Stanford White Residence, St. James, L.I. (W).

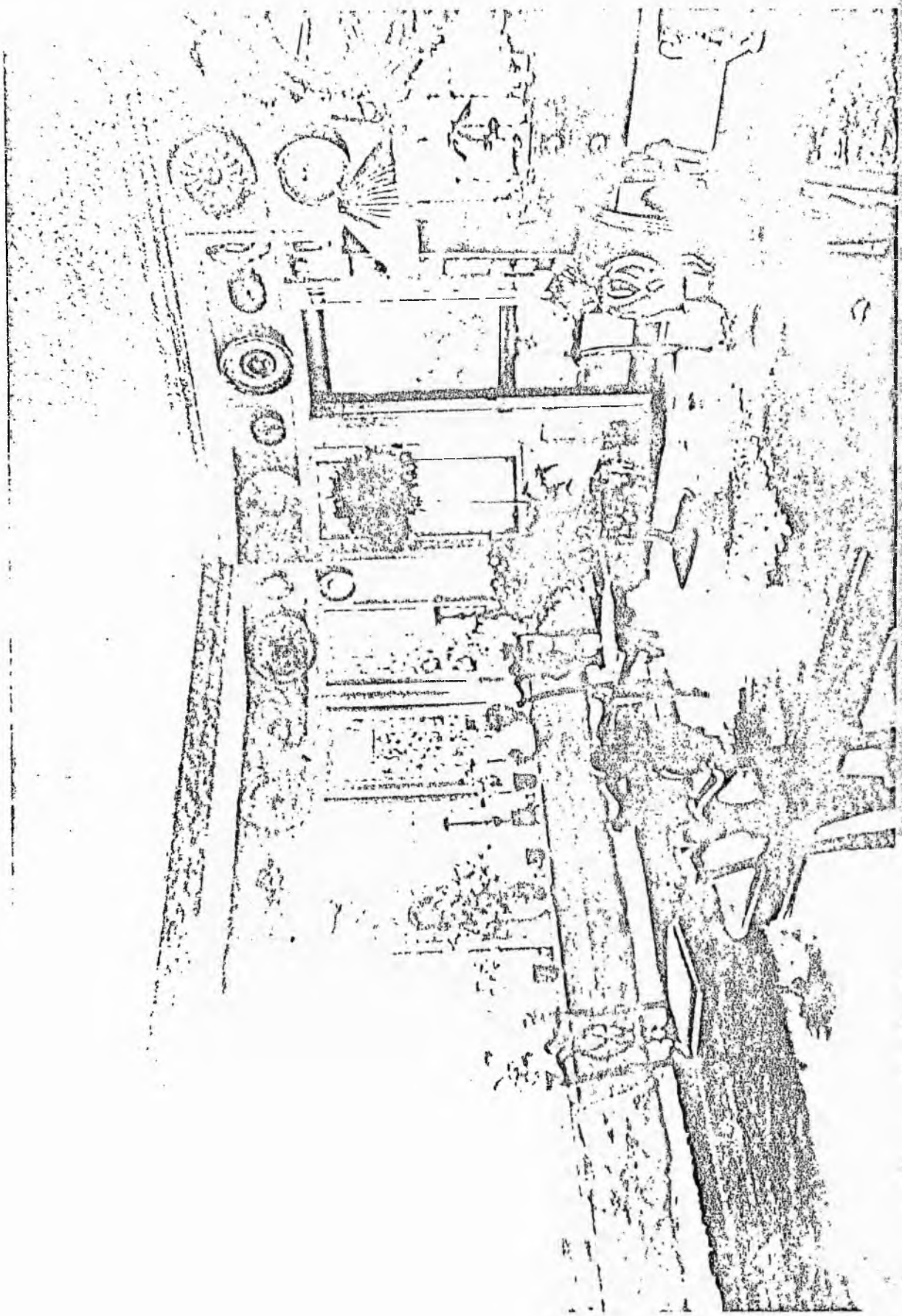


5. Stanford White Residence, St. James, L.I., entrance hall (New York Historical Society).

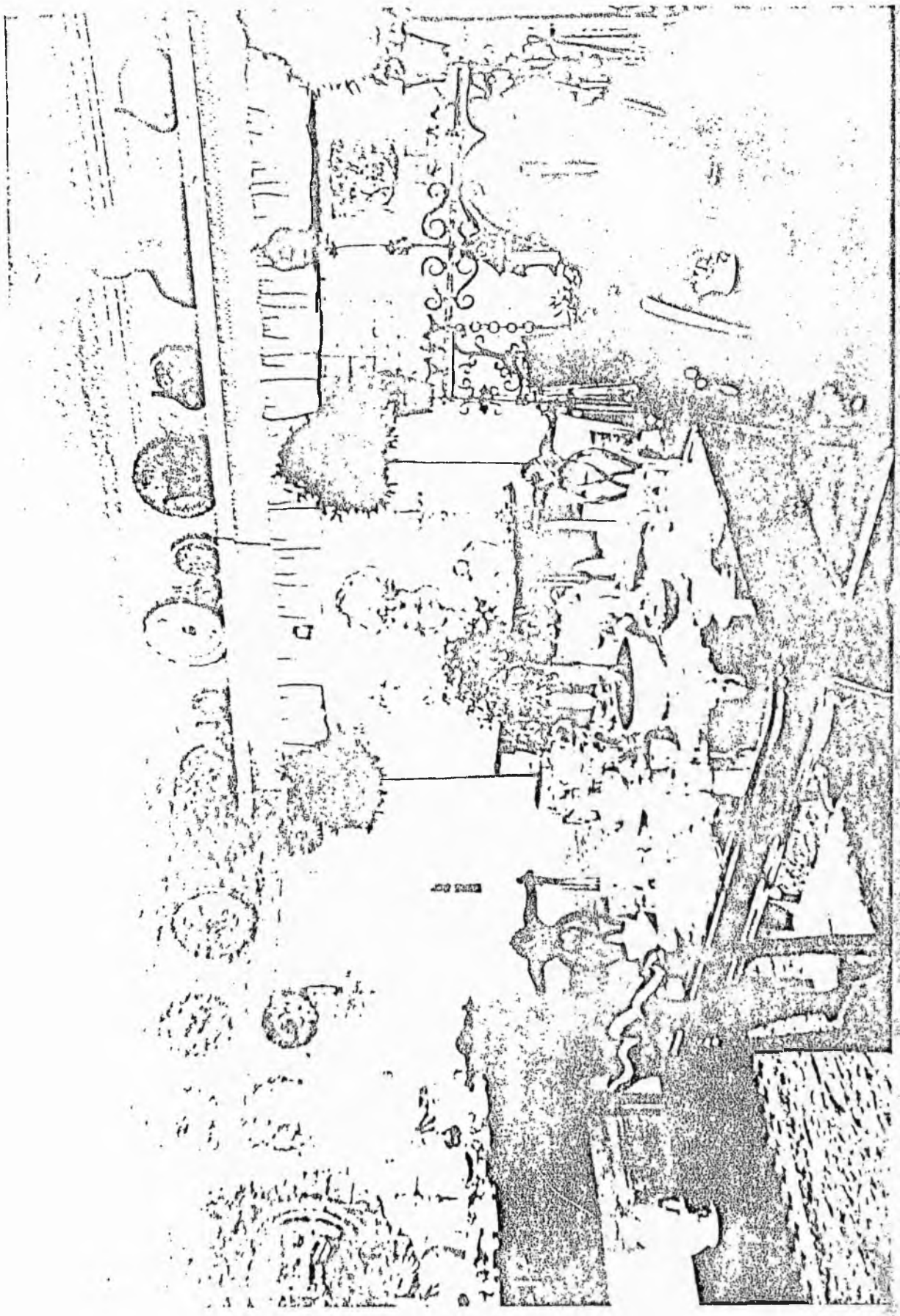
6. Stanford White Residence, St. James, L.I., entrance recess staircase (New York Historical Society).



7. Stanford White Residence, St. James, L.I., entrance recess fireplace (New York Historical Society).

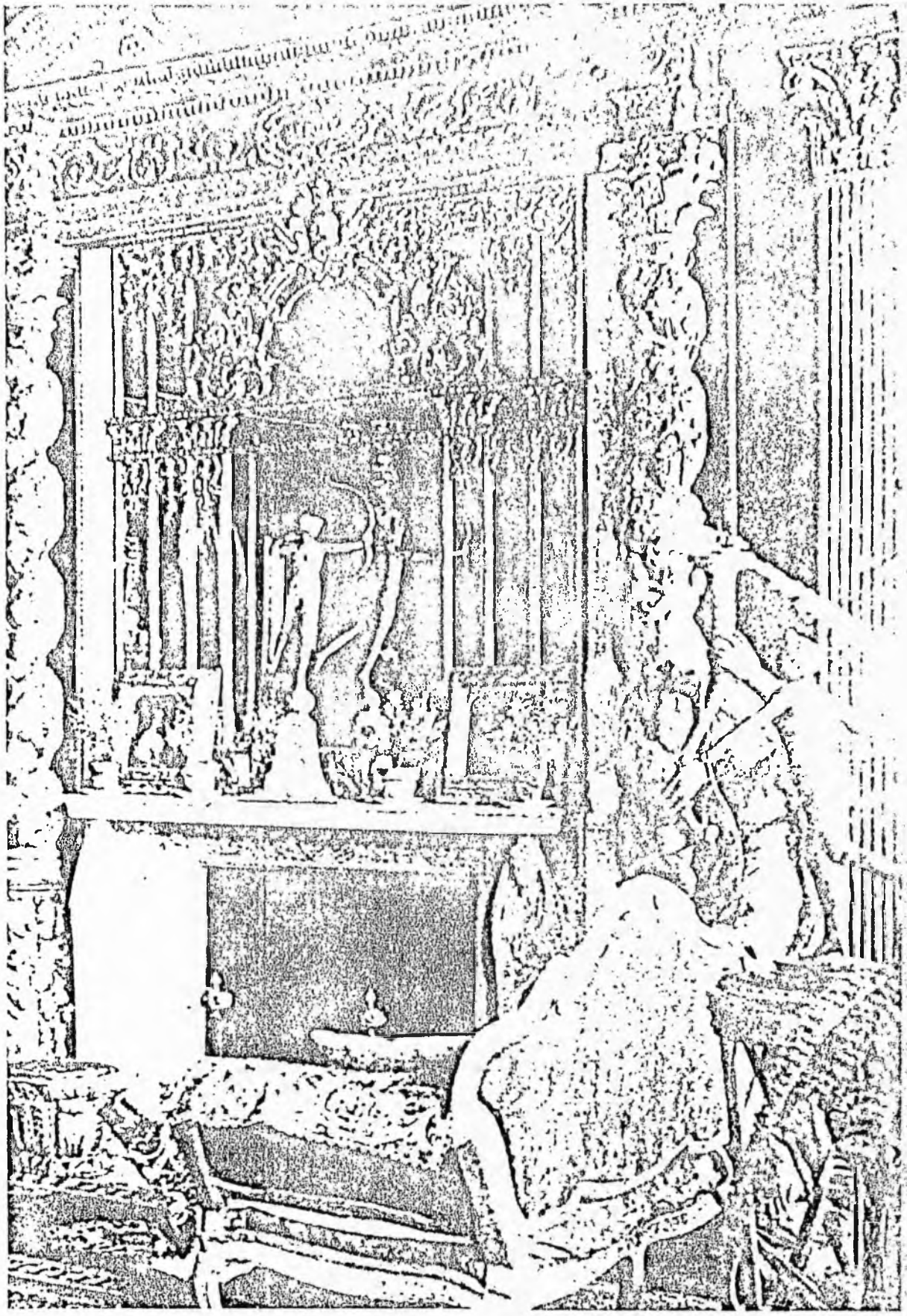


8. Stanford White Residence, St. James, L.I., dining room (New York Historical Society).

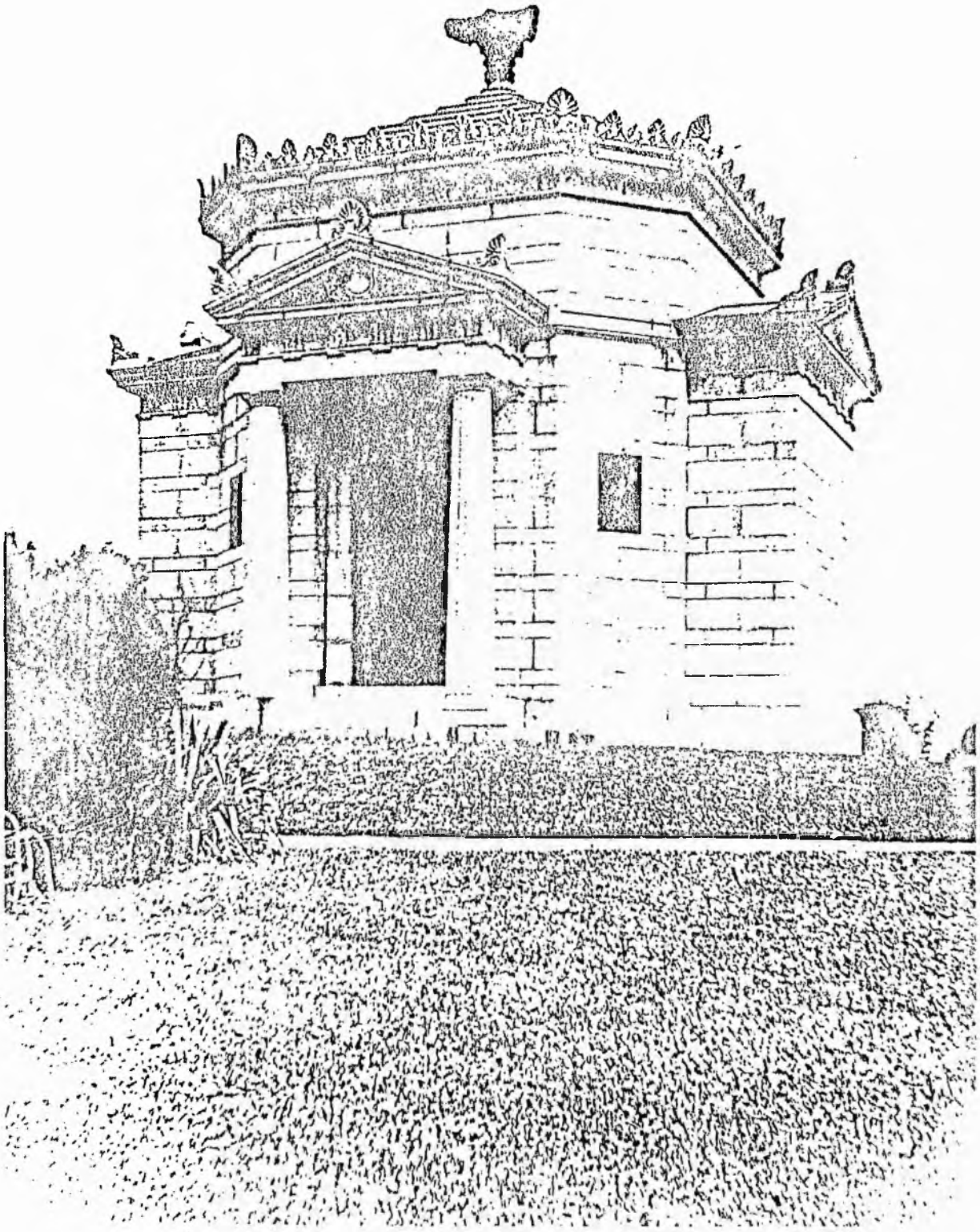


9. Stanford White Residence, St. James, L.I., dining room (New York Historical Society).

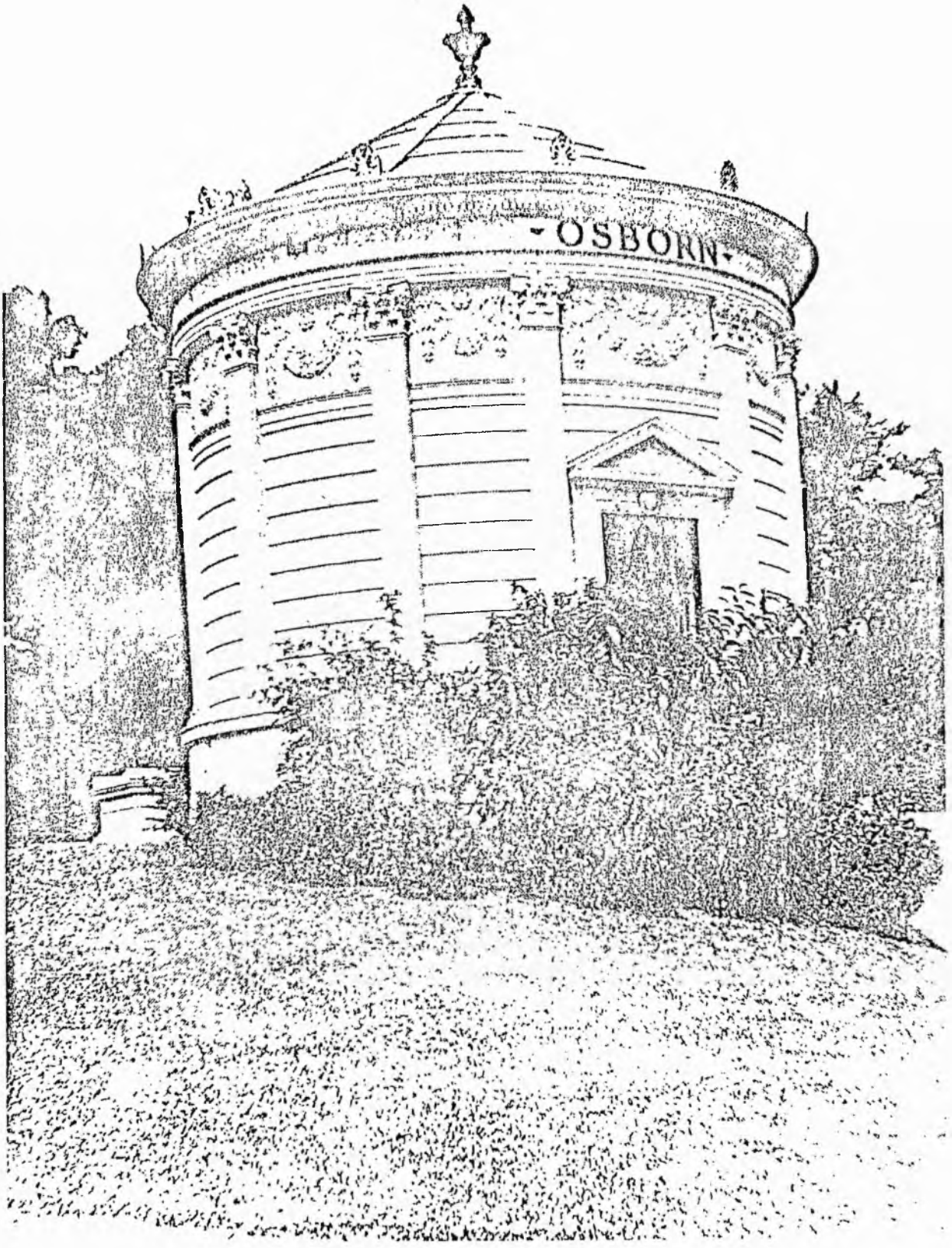
10. Stanford White Residence, St. James, L. I., drawing room (New York Historical Society).



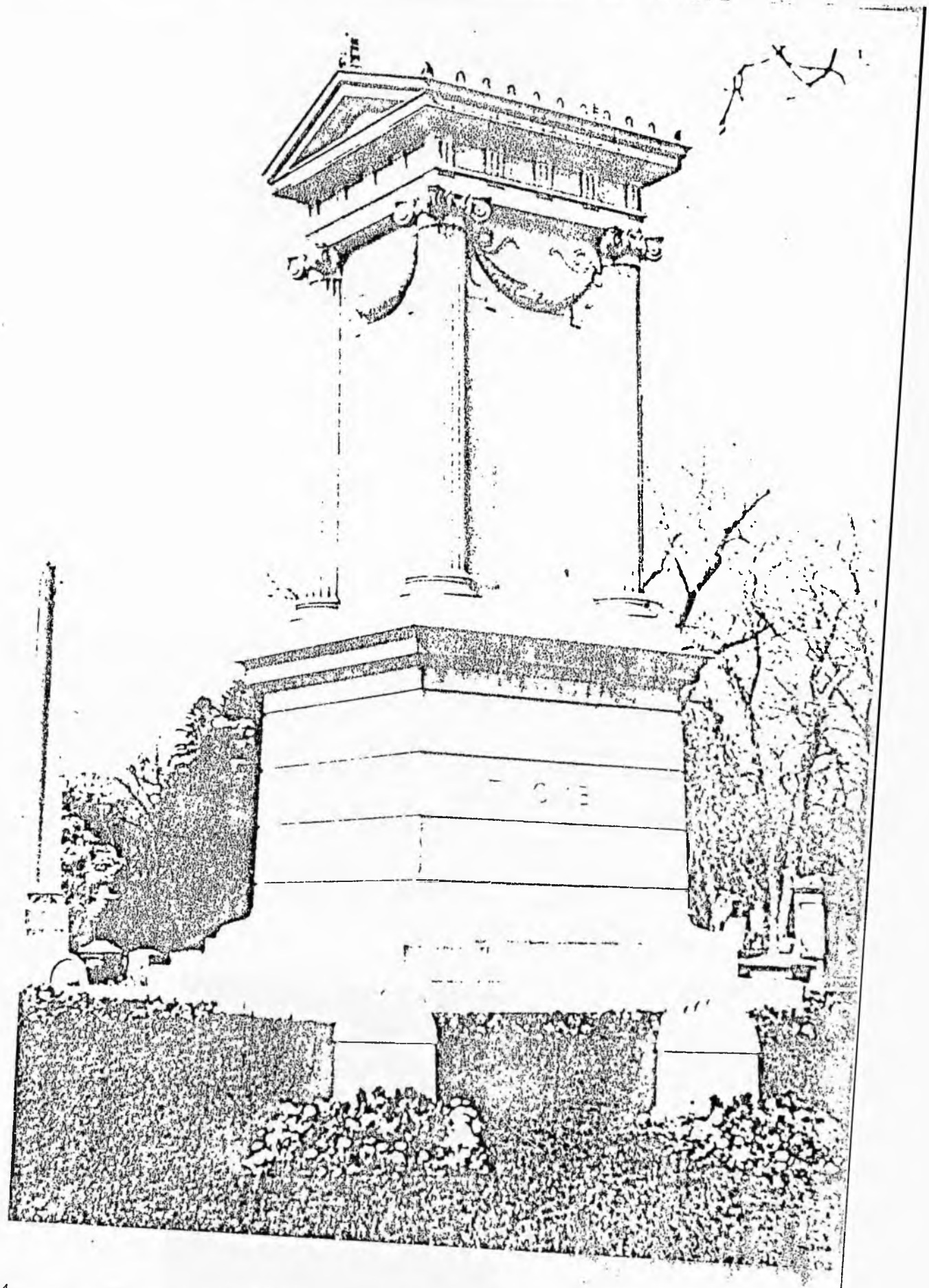
11. White's town house at Lexington Avenue and Twenty-first Street, N.Y., drawing room (L.G. White, The Sketches and Designs by Stanford White, N.Y., 1920).



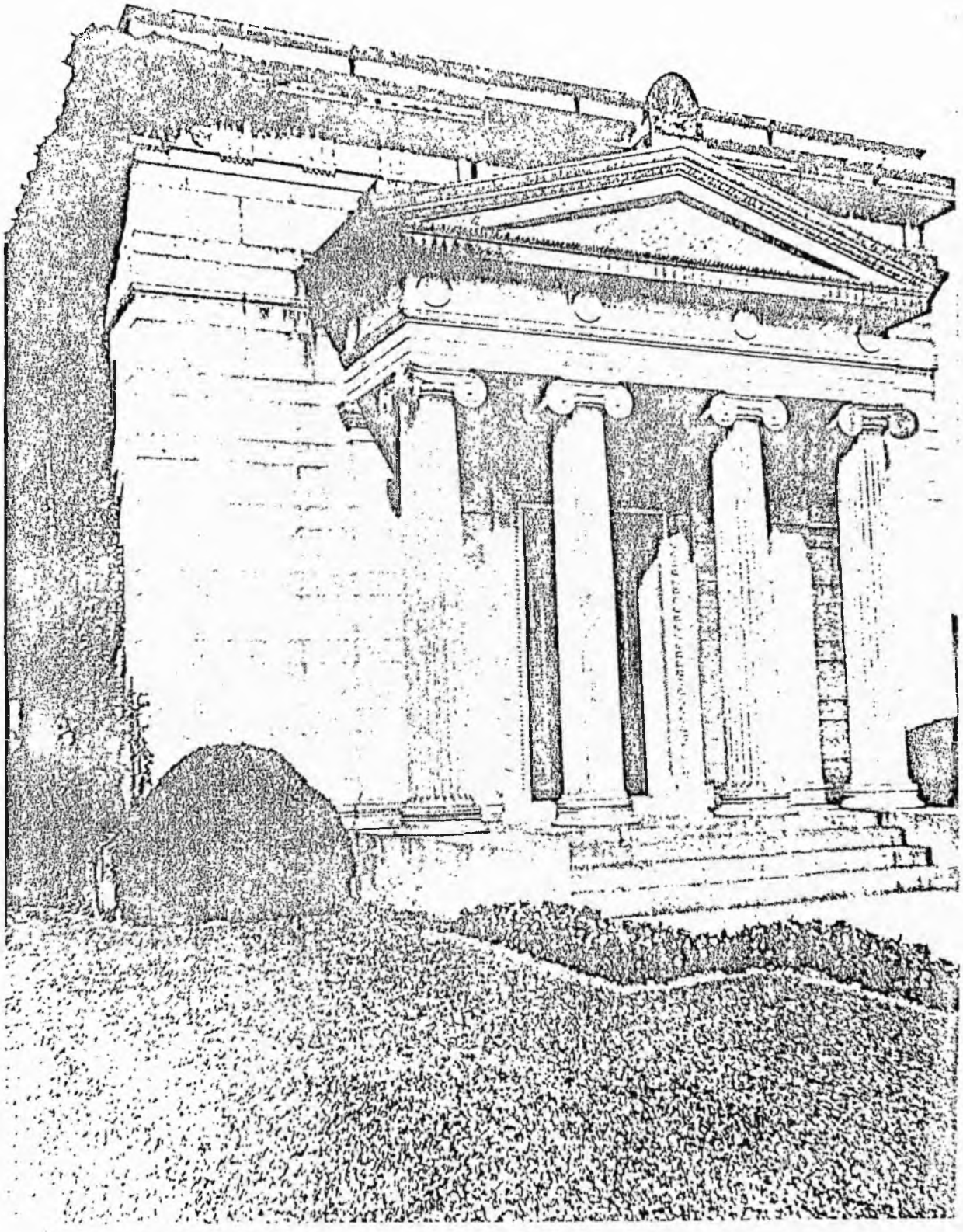
12. Henry Russell Mausoleum, Woodlawn Cemetery, N.Y., 1894 (M pl.217).



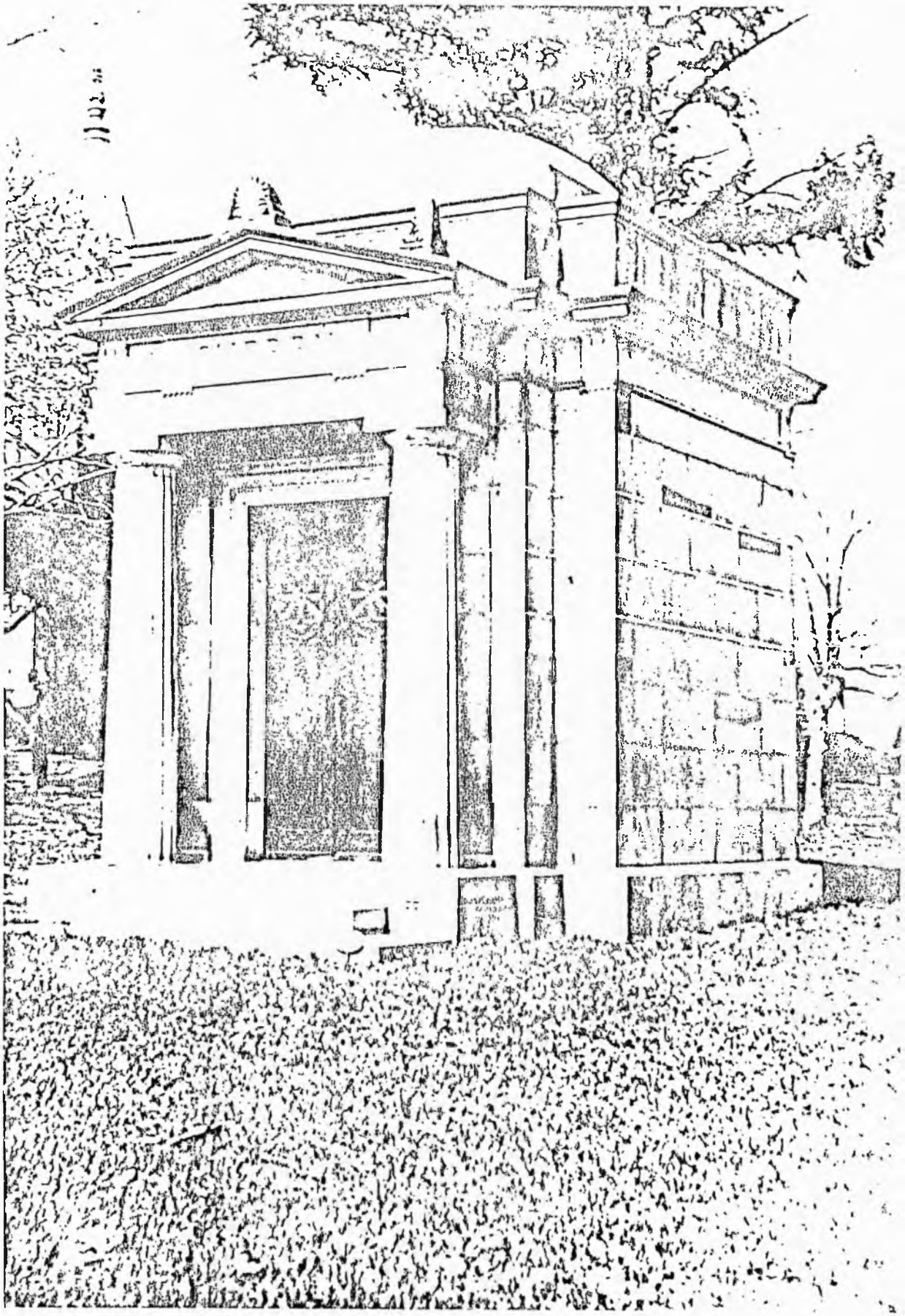
13. Charles J. Osborn Mausoleum, Woodlawn Cemetery, N.Y. 1909 (M pl.217).



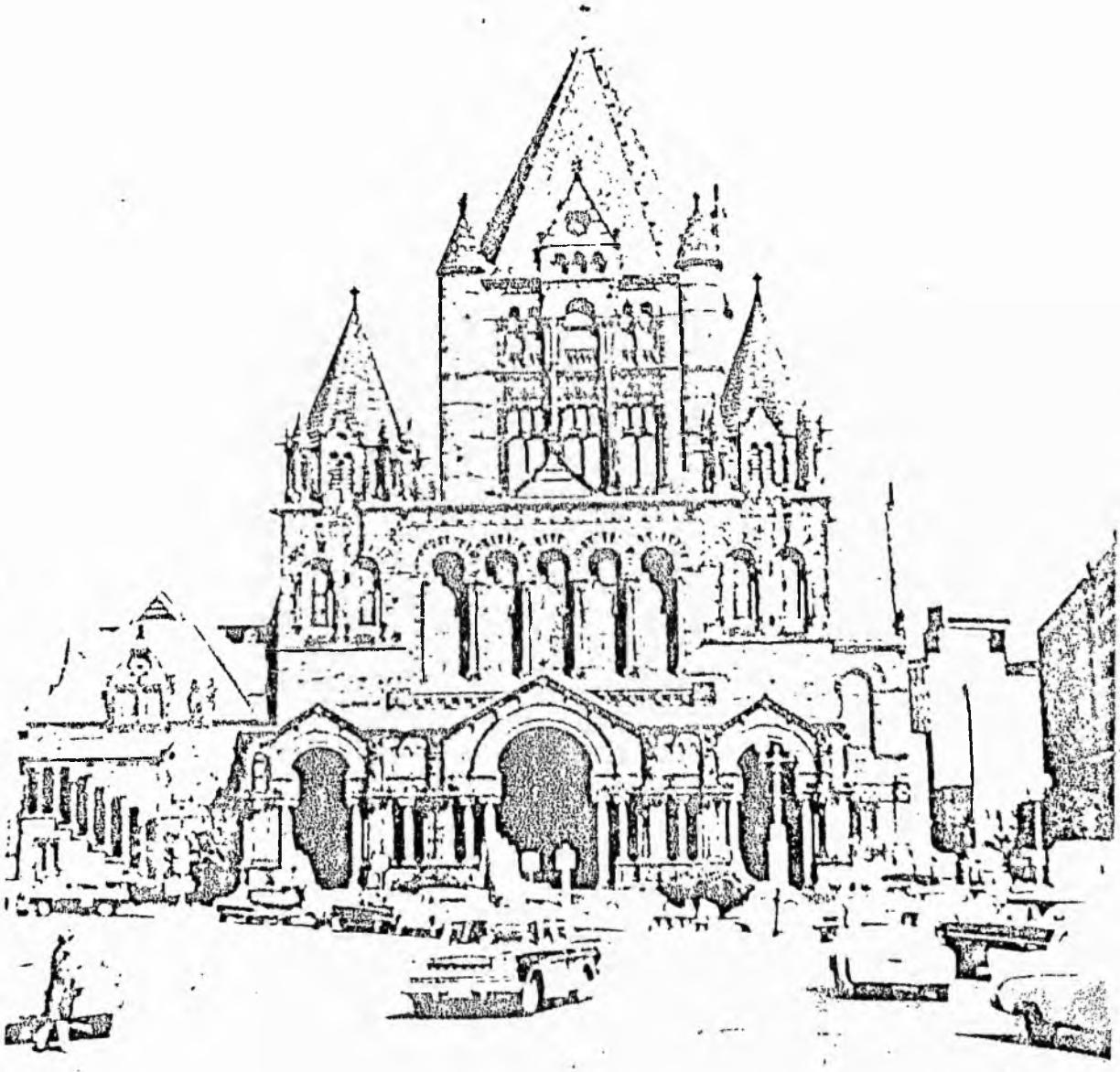
14. H. McKown Twombly Mausoleum, Woodlawn Cemetery, N.Y., 189
(W).



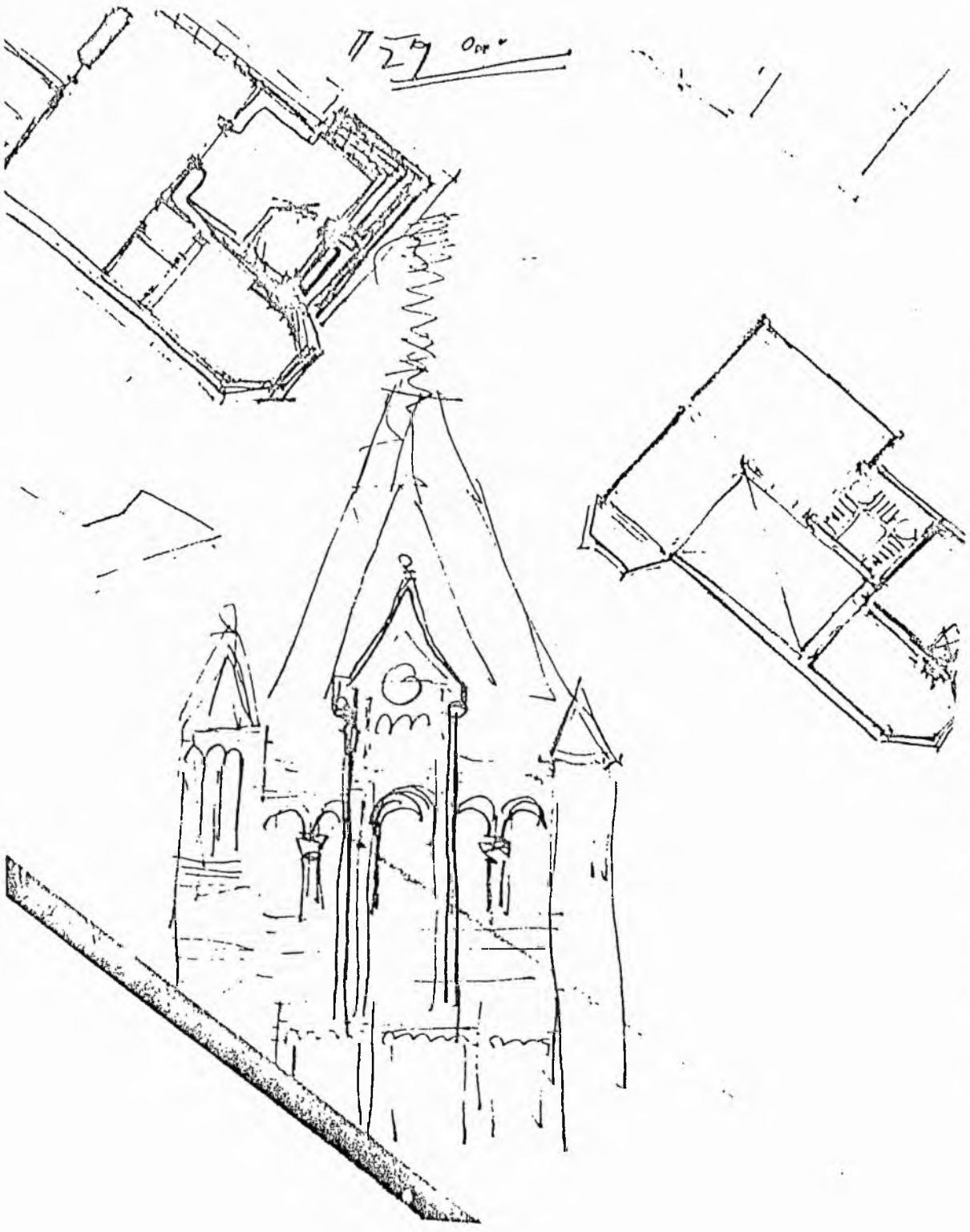
15. Ogden and Robert Goelet Mausoleum, Woodlawn Cemetery, N.Y., 1899 (M pl.217).



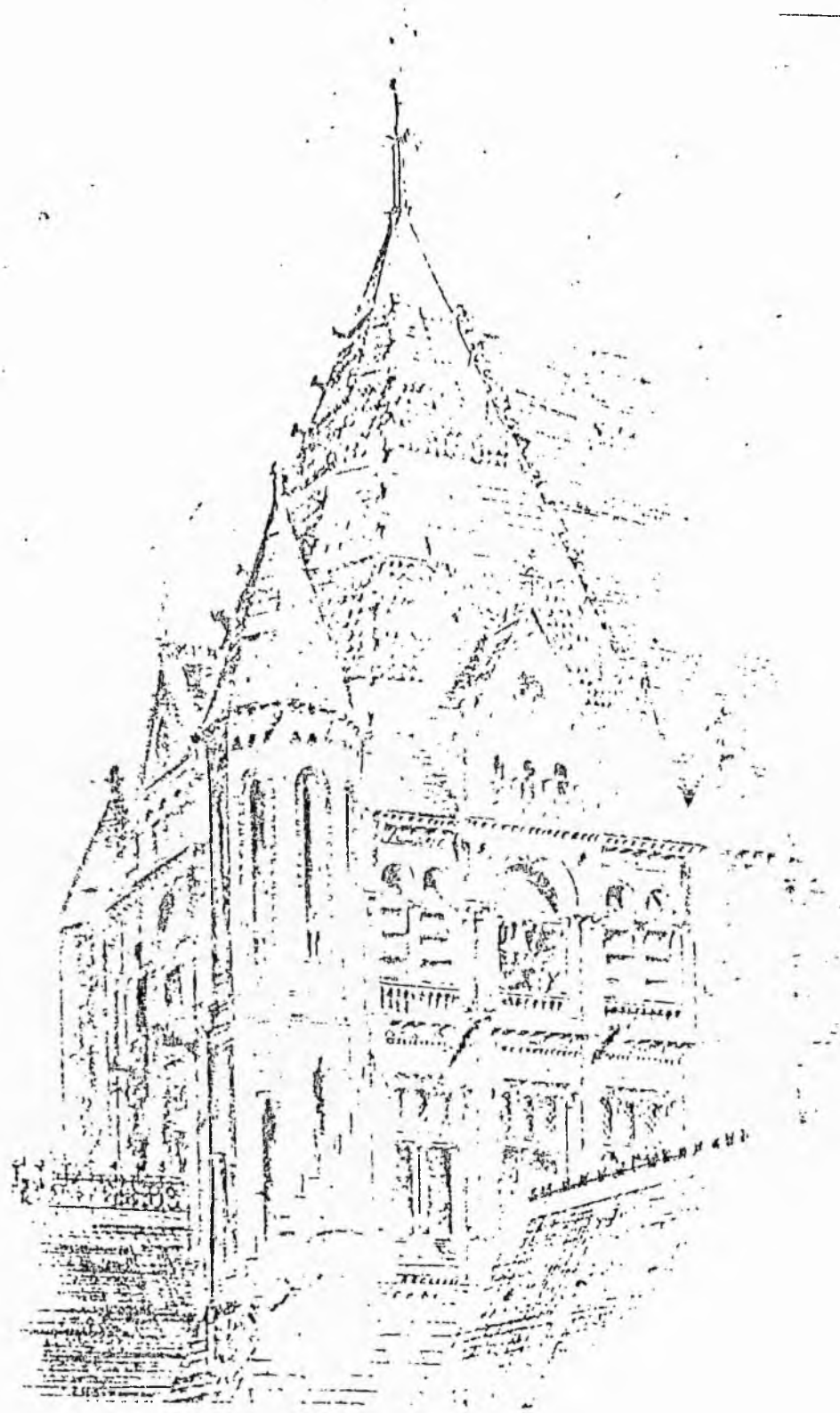
16. Louis Sherry Mausoleum, Woodlawn Cemetery, N.Y., 1905 (W)



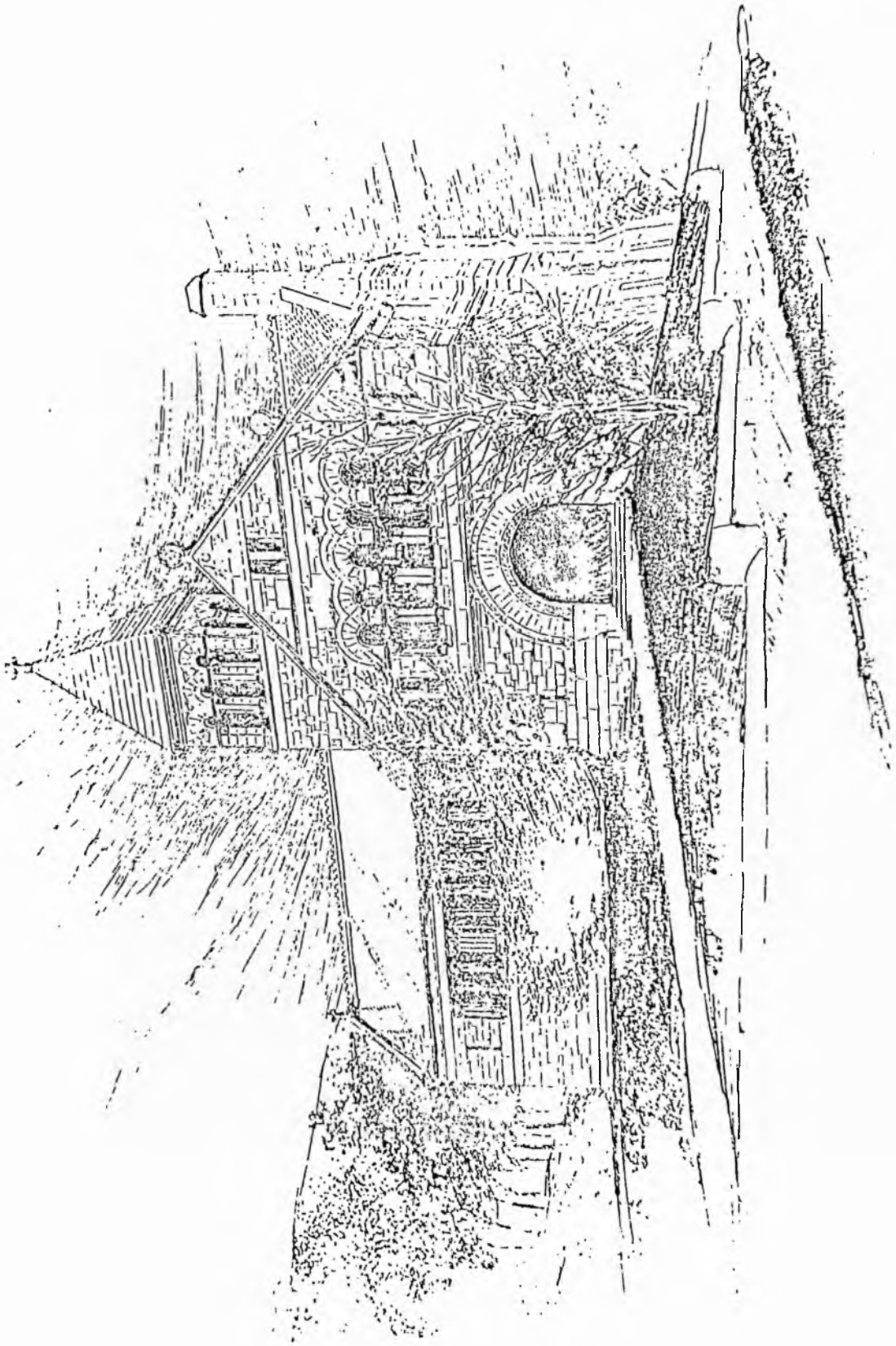
17. H. H. Richardson, Trinity Church, Boston, 1972-77 (W)



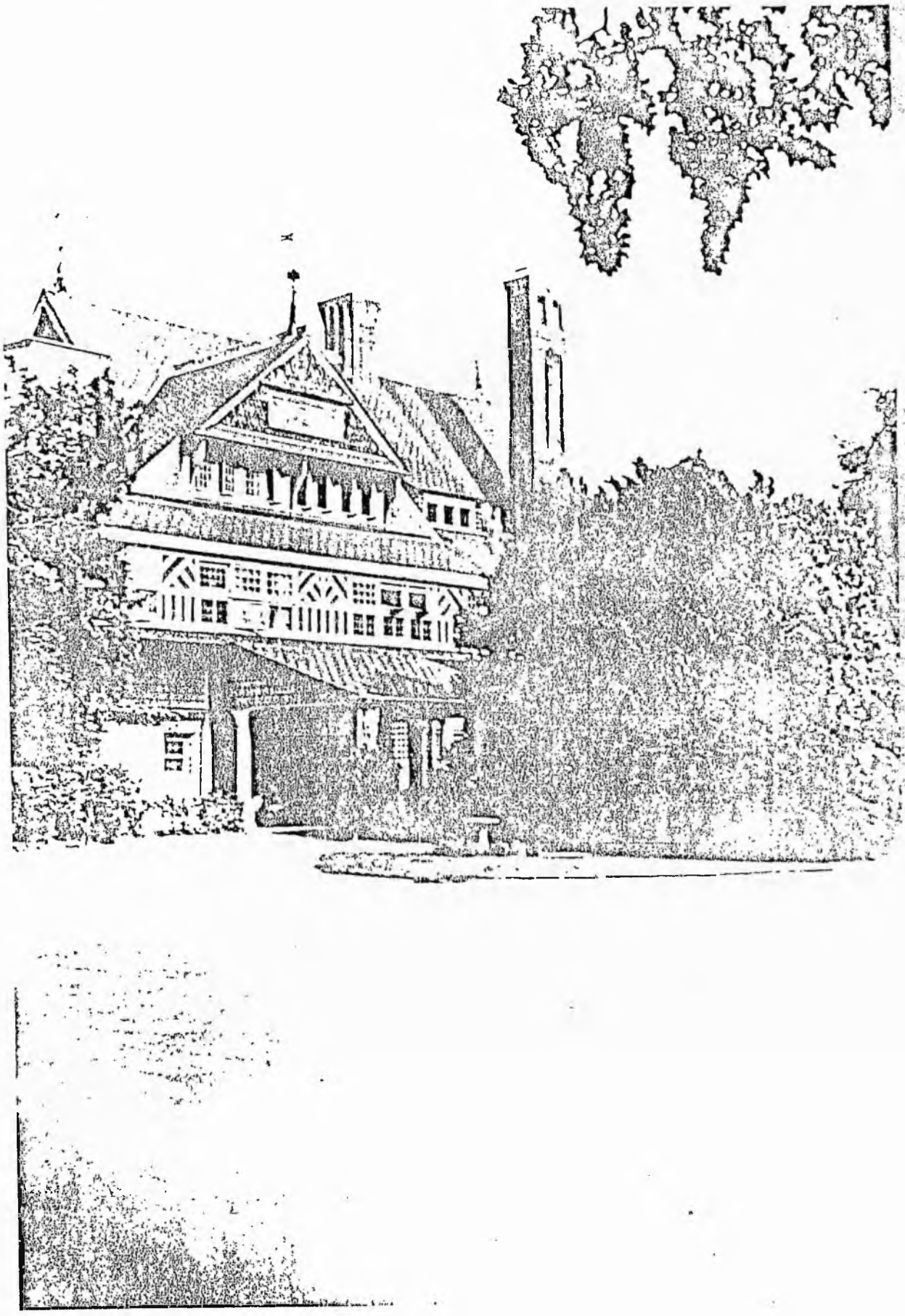
18. H. H. Richardson's sketch of the Trinity Church tower, 1874 (Shepley, Bulfinch, Richardson and Abbott, architects, Boston).



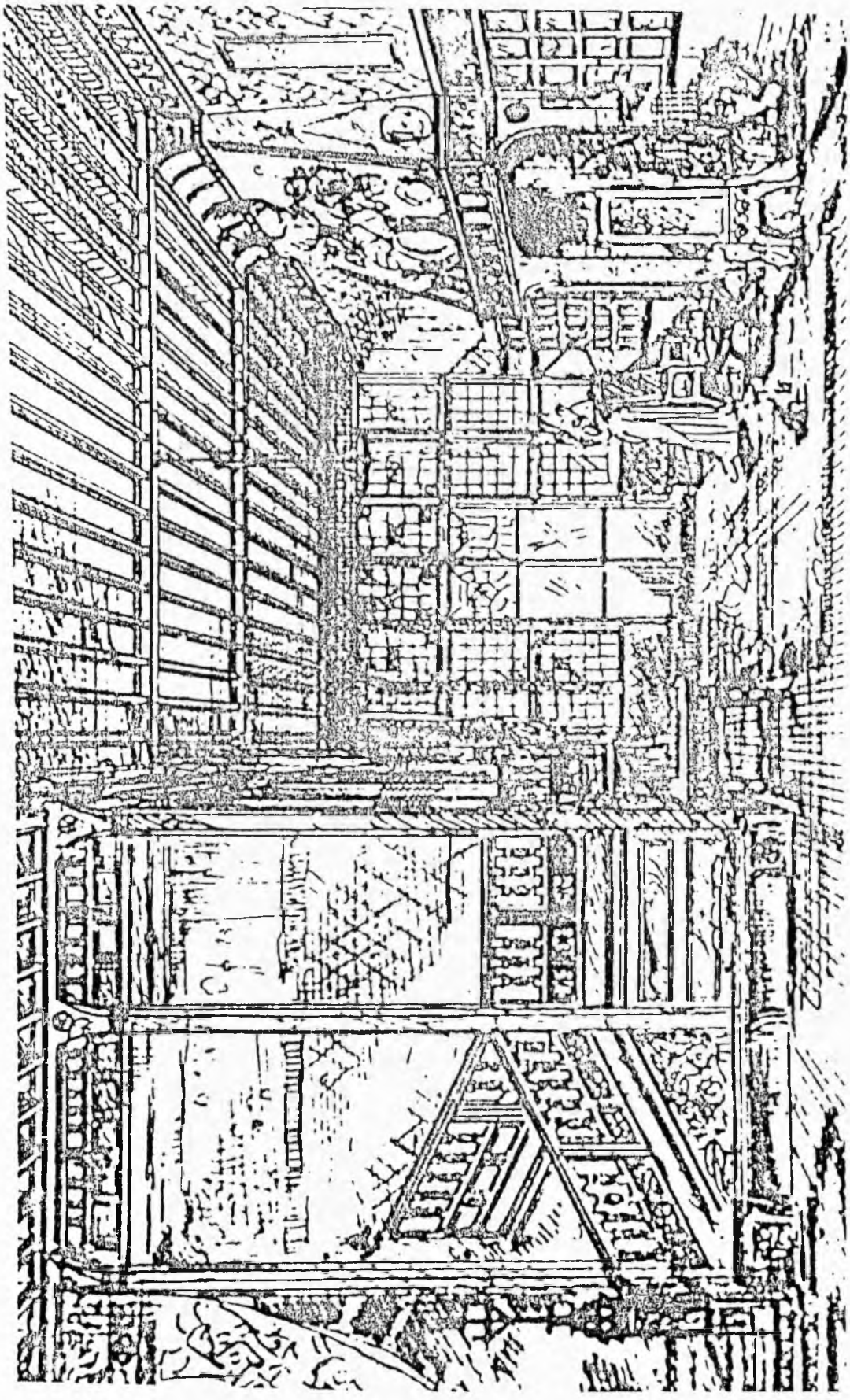
19. White's drawing for Trinity Church tower, 1874 (Shepley, Bulfinch, Richardson and Abbott, architects, Boston).



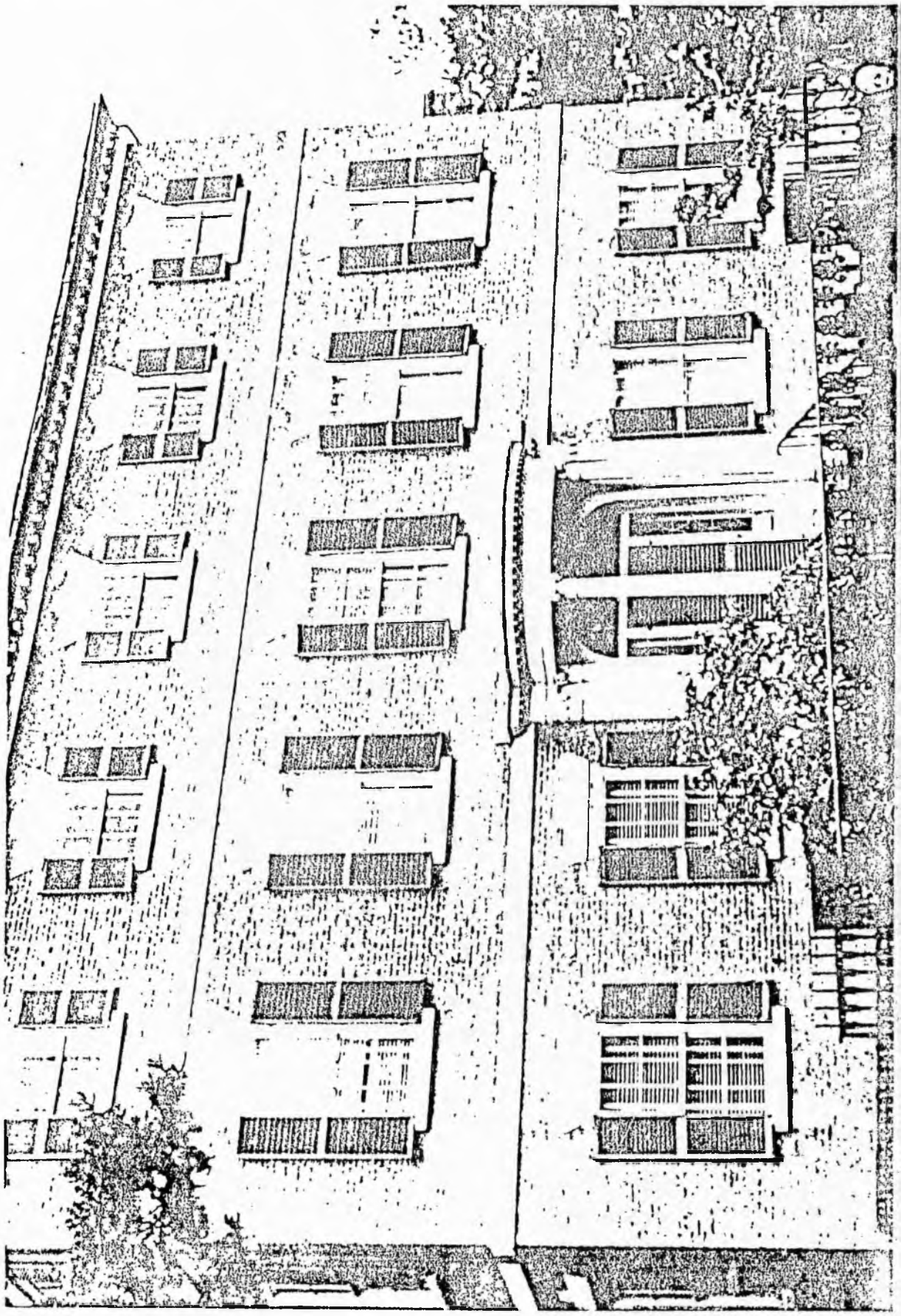
20. Ames Memorial Public Library, North Easton, Mass; Drawing by White? (Mariana Griswold Van Rensselaer, Henry Hobson Richardson and His Work, N.Y. 1888, p.70)



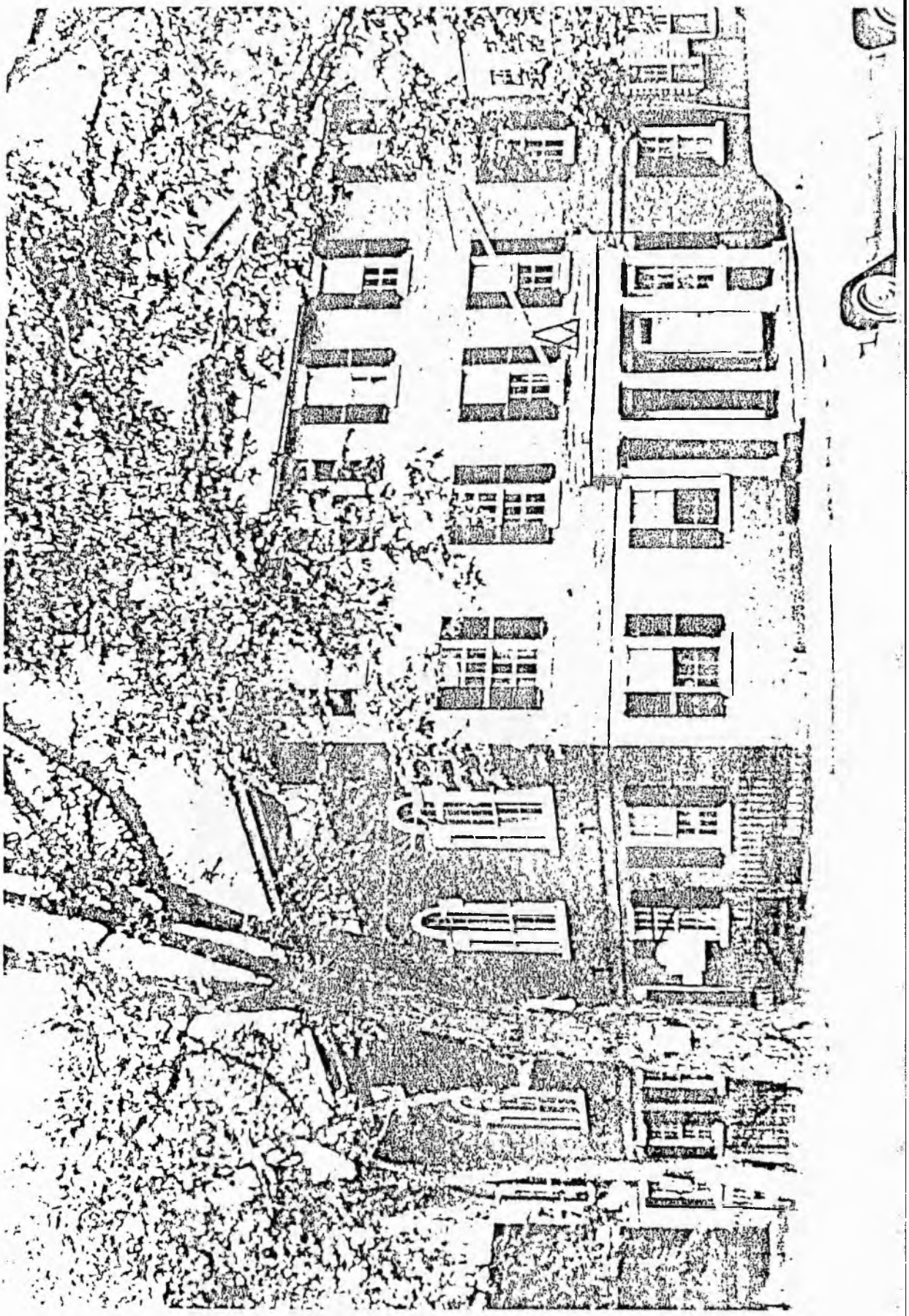
21. H. H. Richardson, Watts Sherman House, Newport, R.I., 1874-75 (W).



22. White's drawing of the Sherman House hall and staircase (New York Sketch Book, 1875)

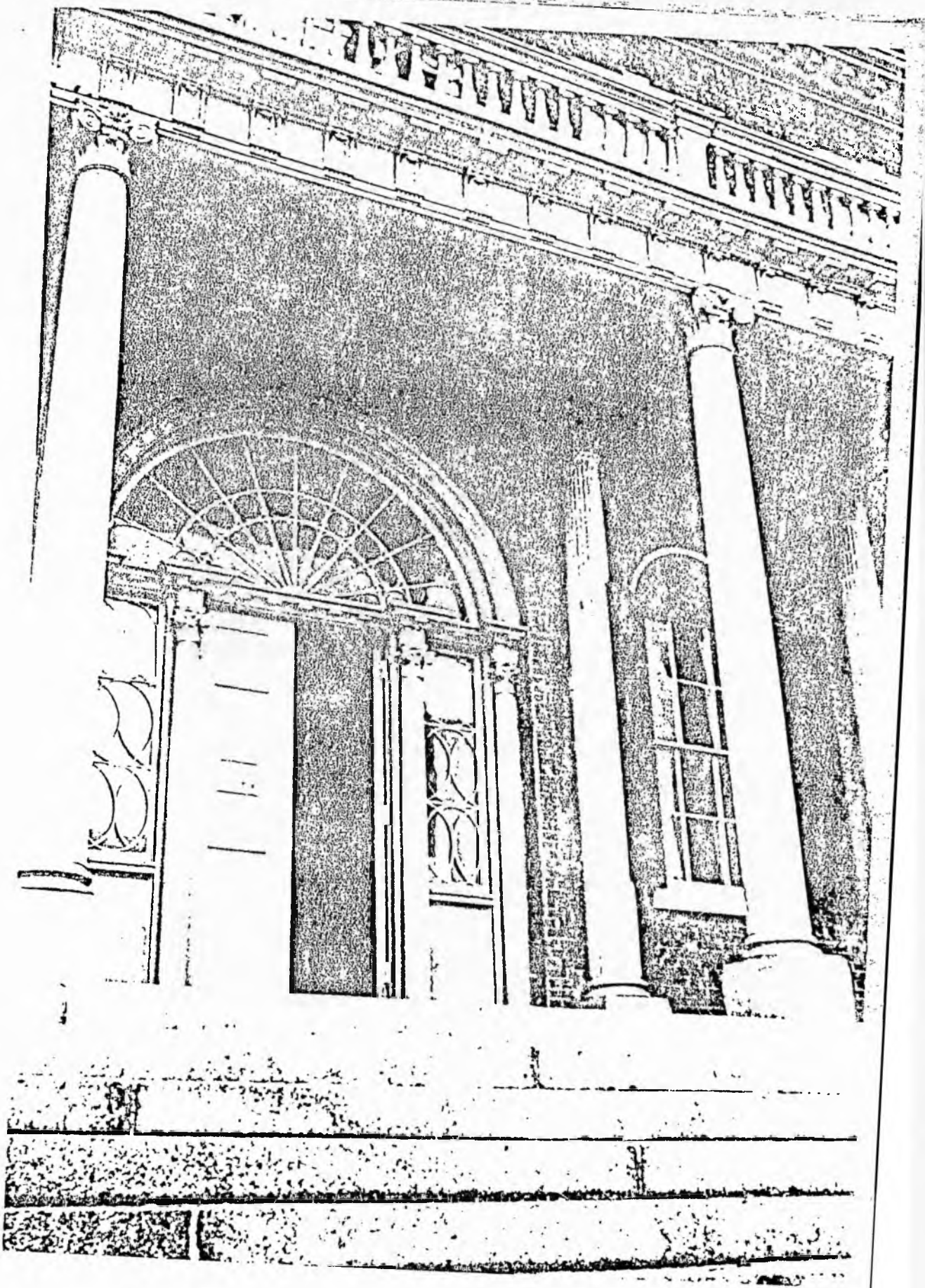


23. Samuel McIntire, Pingree House, Salem, Mass., 1804 (W)

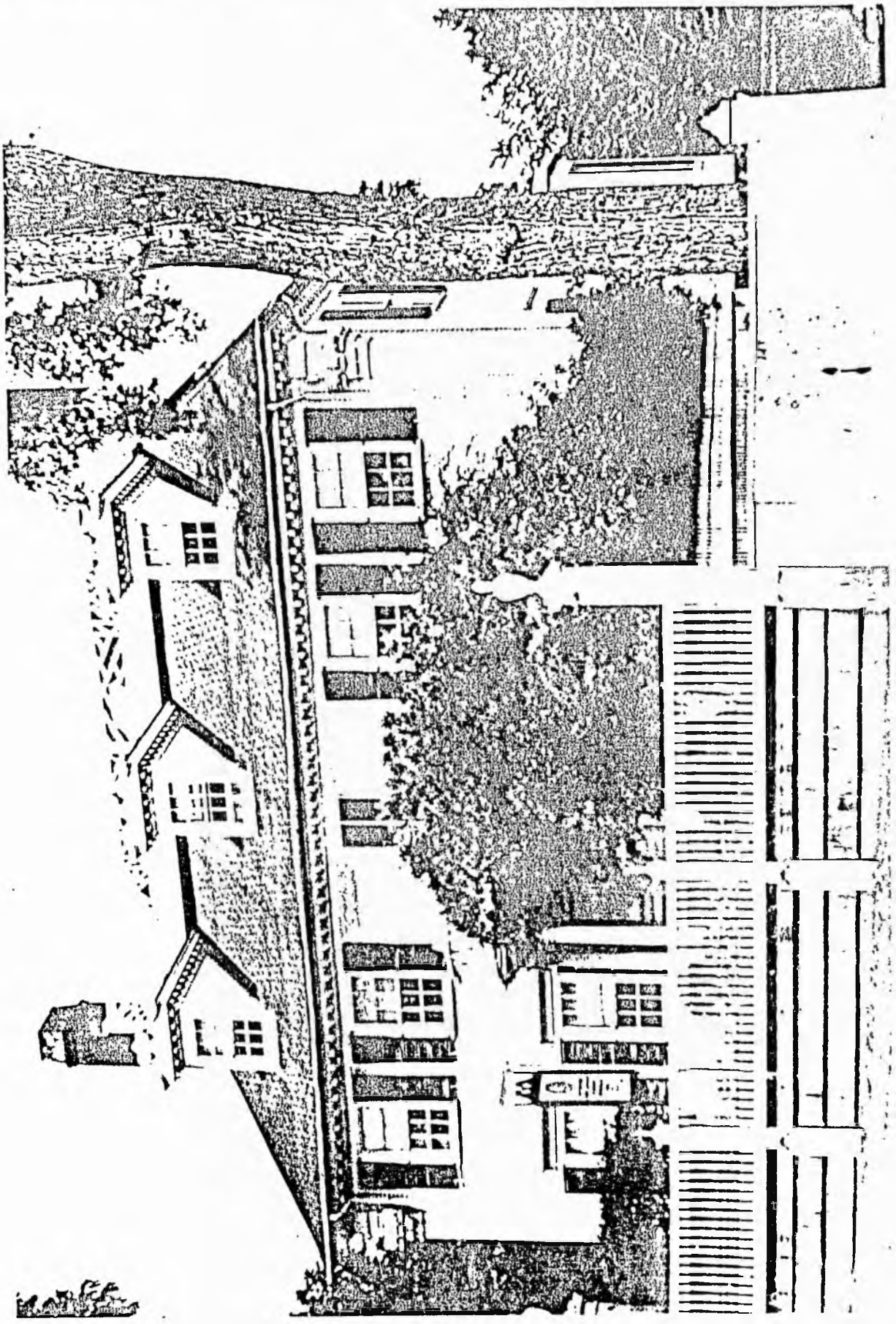


24. Samuel McIntire, Hamilton Hall, Salem, Mass., 1806 (W)

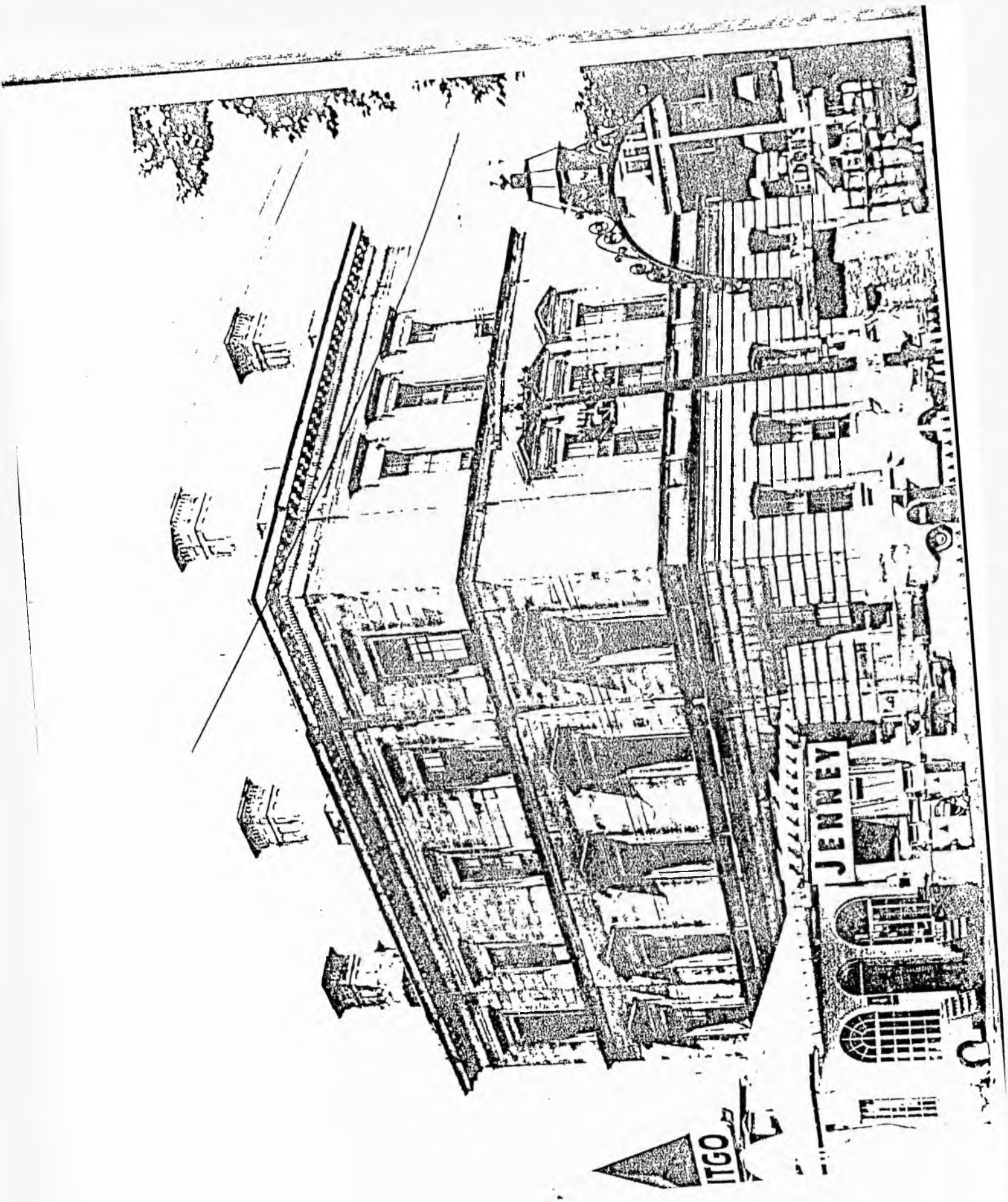
25. Colony Club, N.Y., 1904-8 (M pl.281)



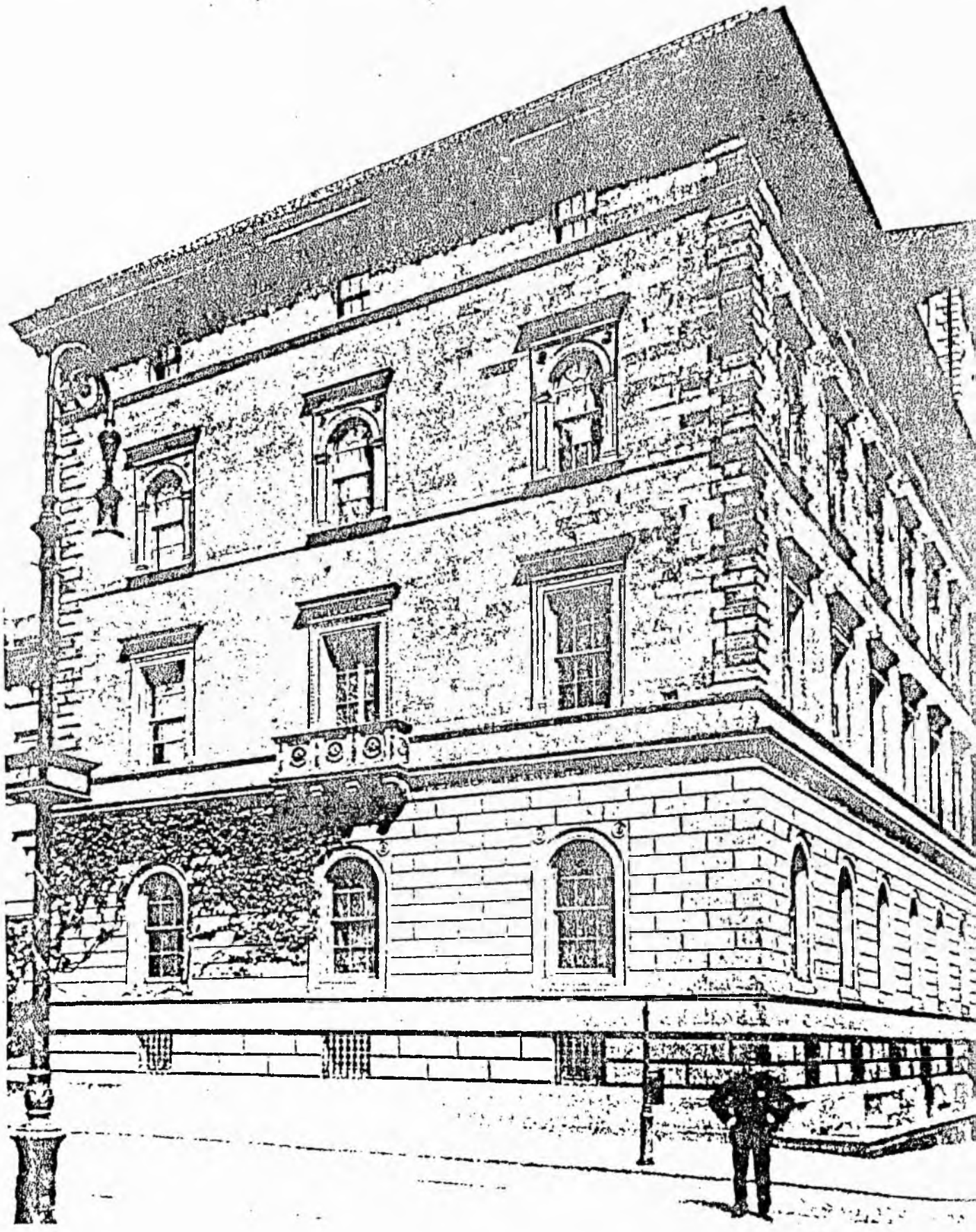
26. Customhouse, Salem, Mass.1819 (W)



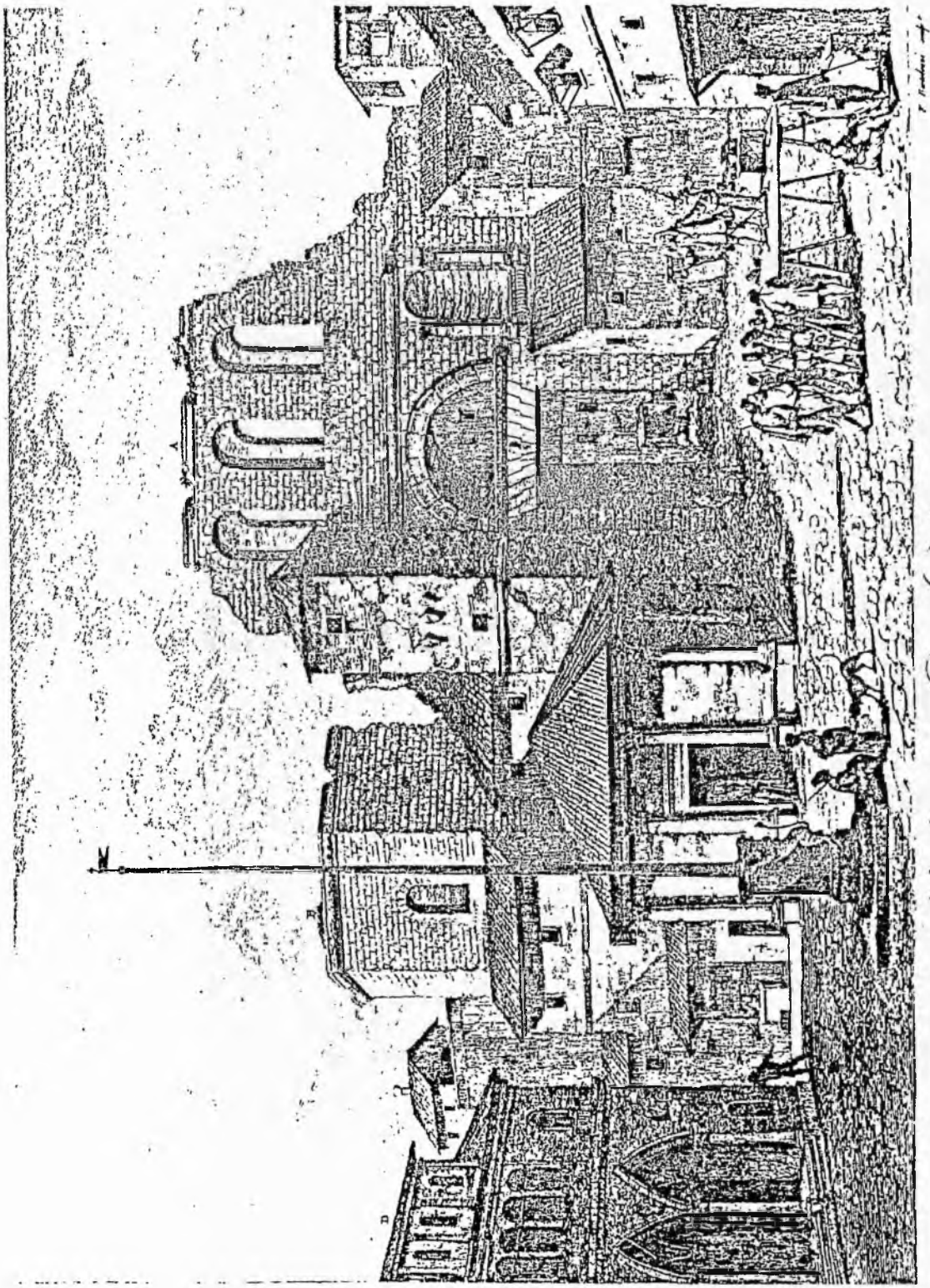
27. Governor John Langdon house, Portsmouth, N.H., 1784 (W)



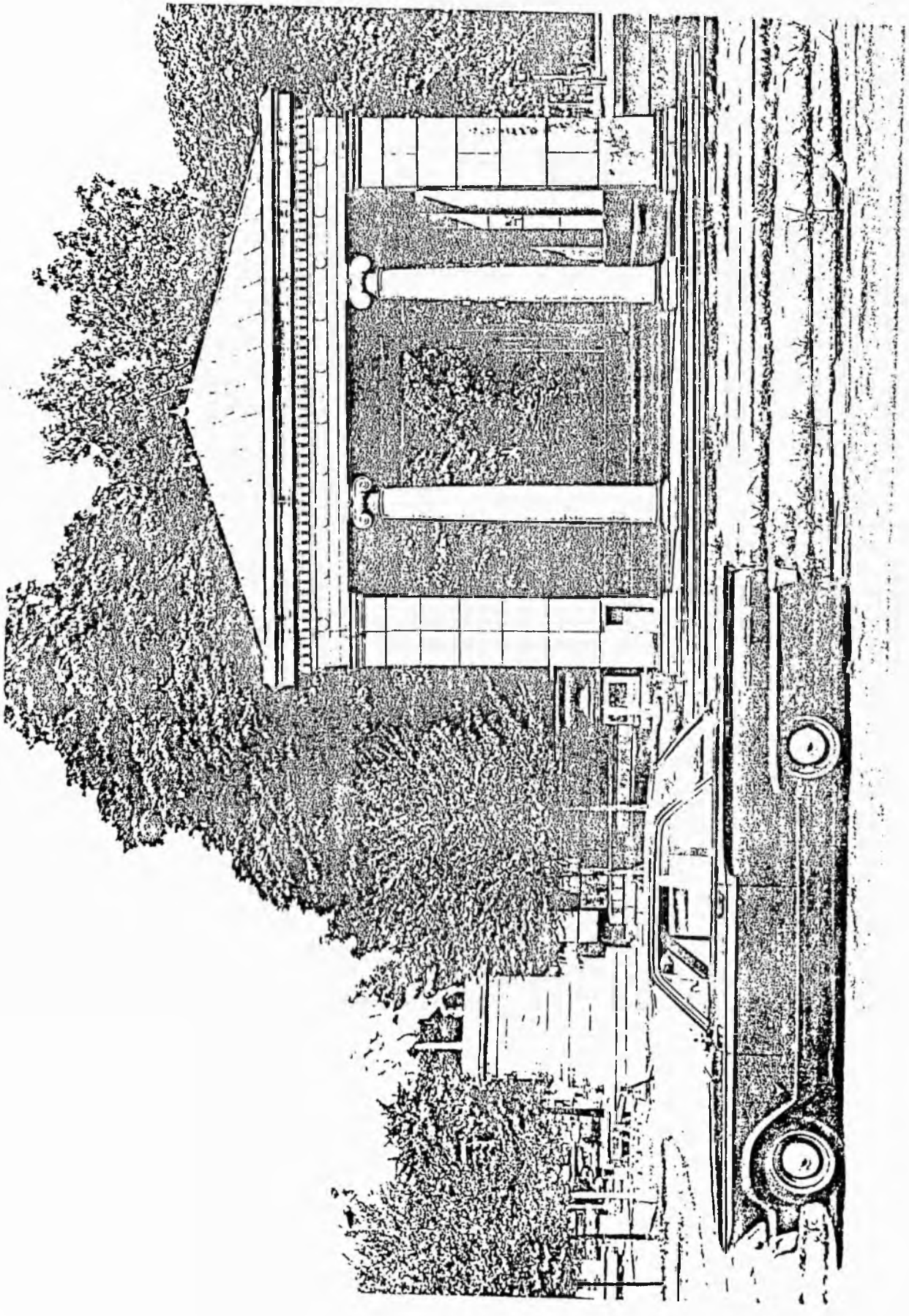
28. Ammi B. Young, Post Office and Customhouse, Portsmouth, N.H., 1855 (W).



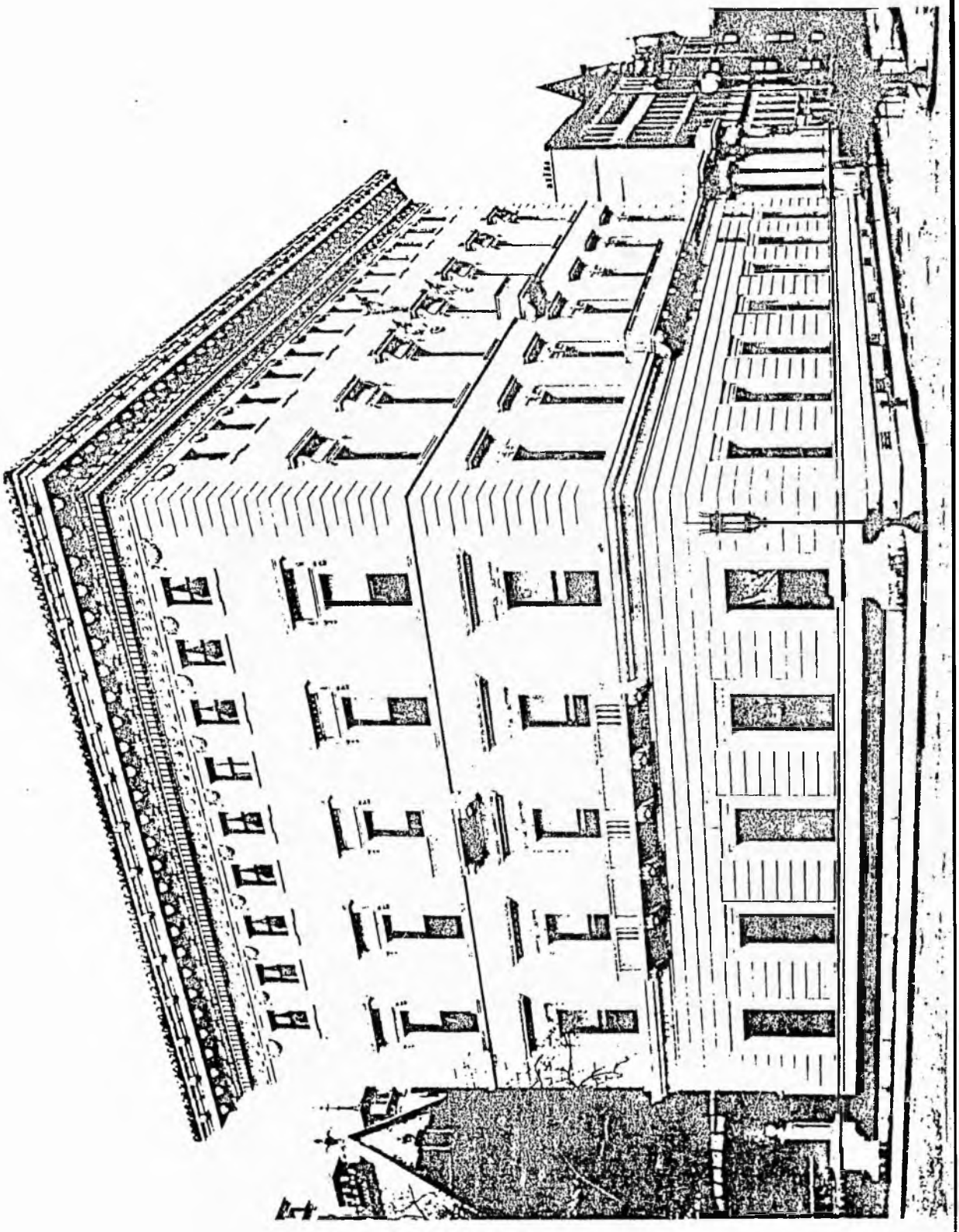
29. Villard Mansion, N.Y., 1882-85 (M pl.8)



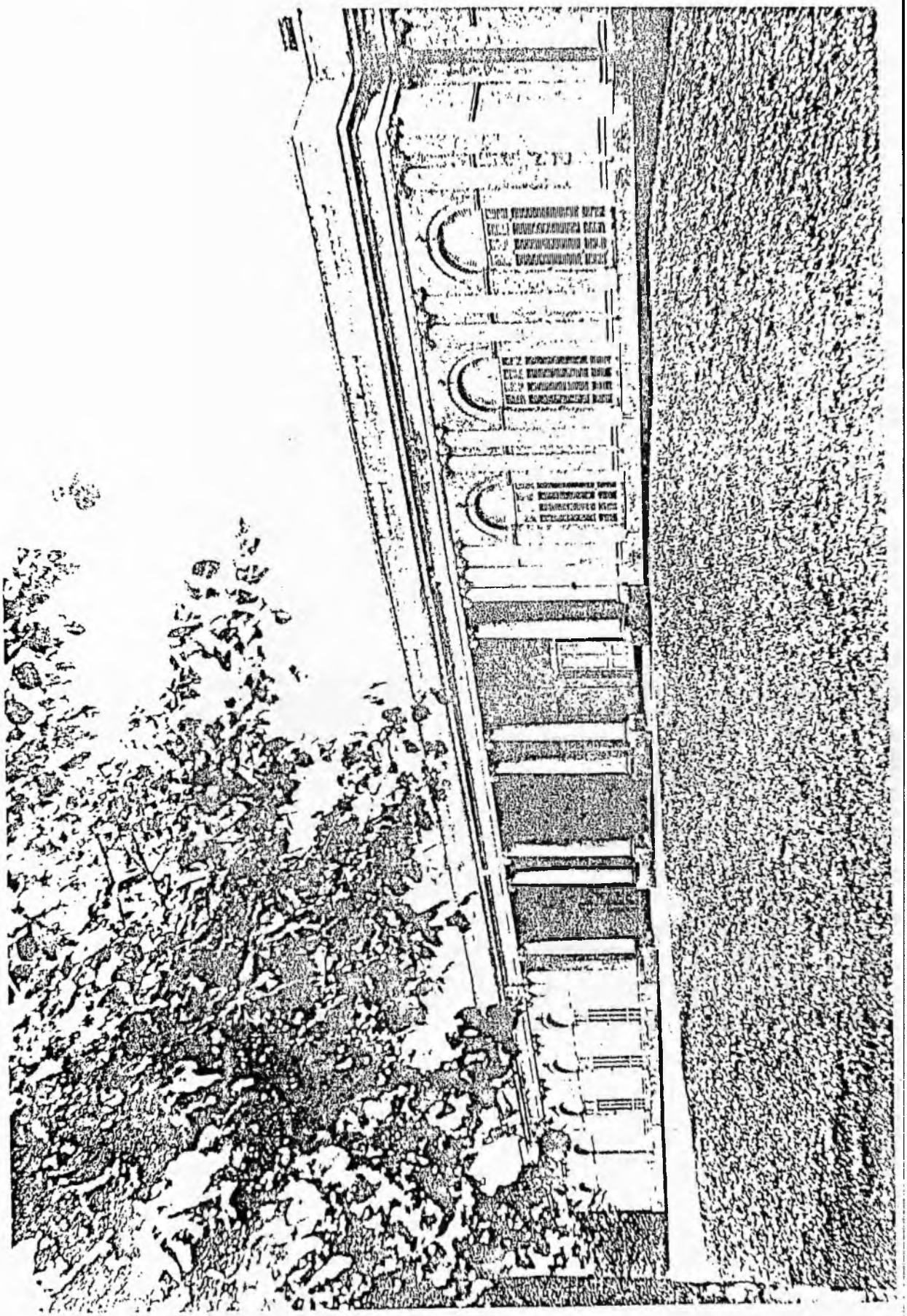
30. "View of Port Ferrea," from Robert Adam, Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro, 1764, pl.18



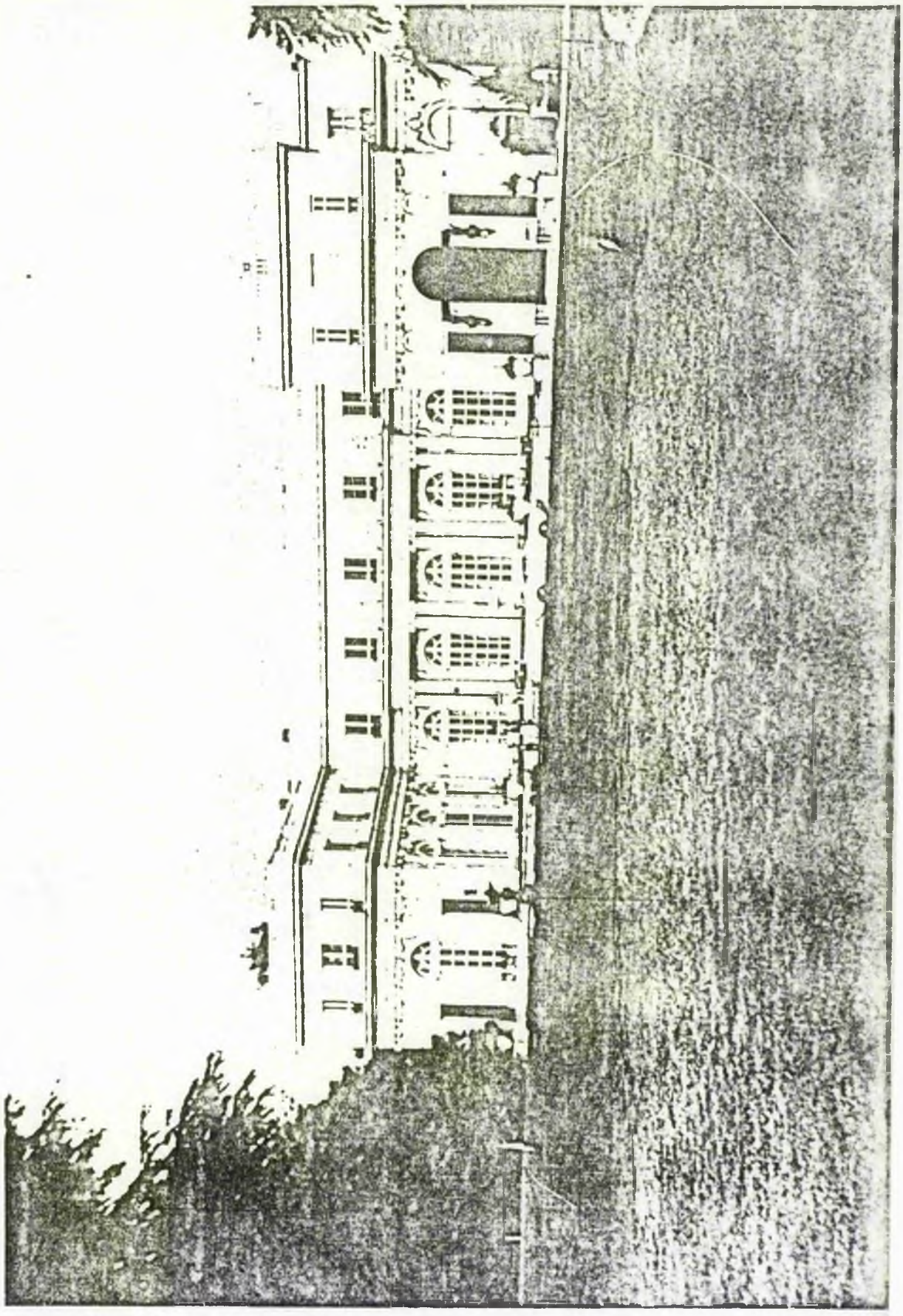
31. Prospect Park, Brooklyn, N.Y., Coney Island Avenue Entrance, 1890 (M pl.20).



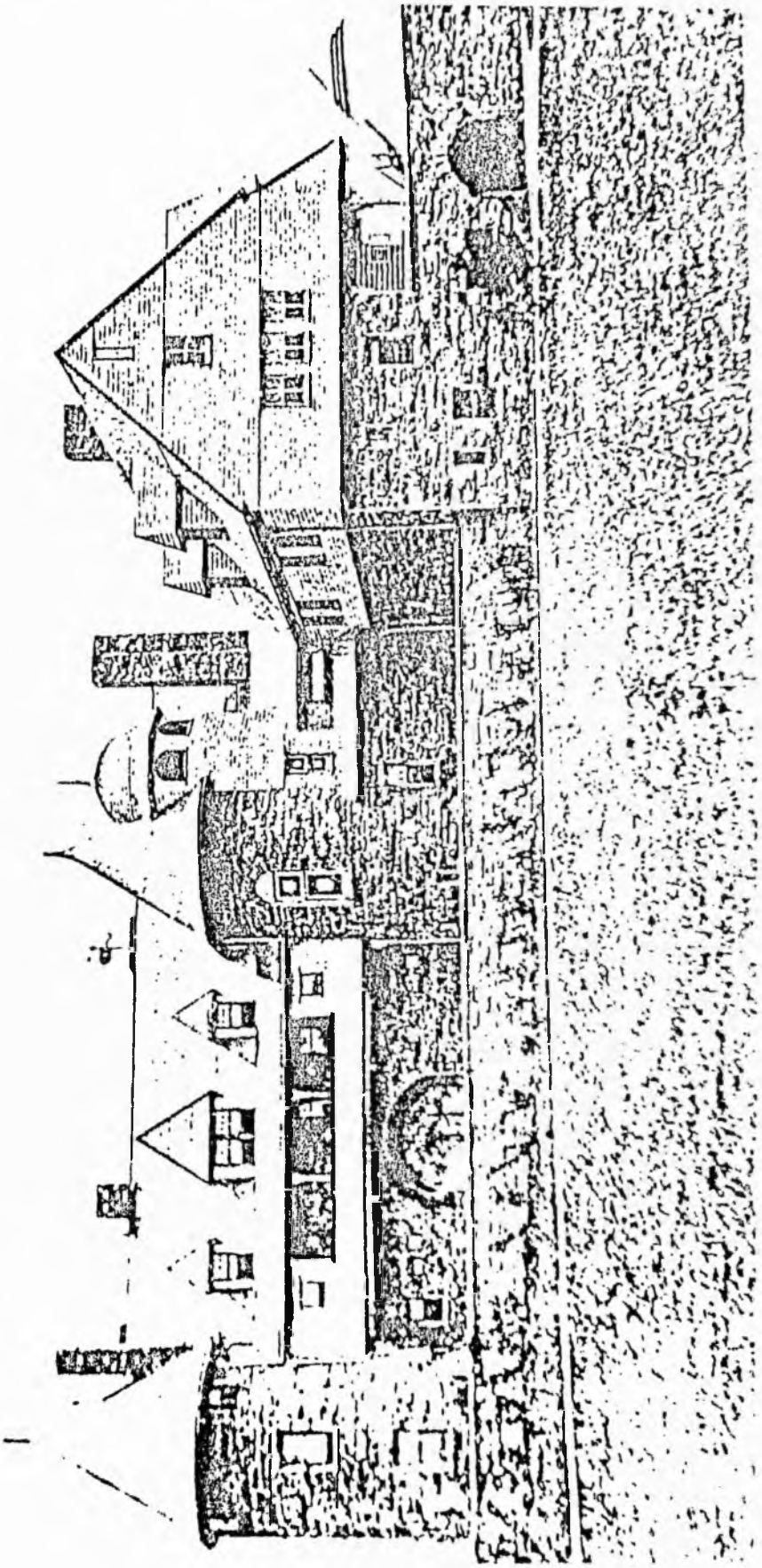
32. Metropolitan Club, N.Y., 1891-94 (M pl.57).



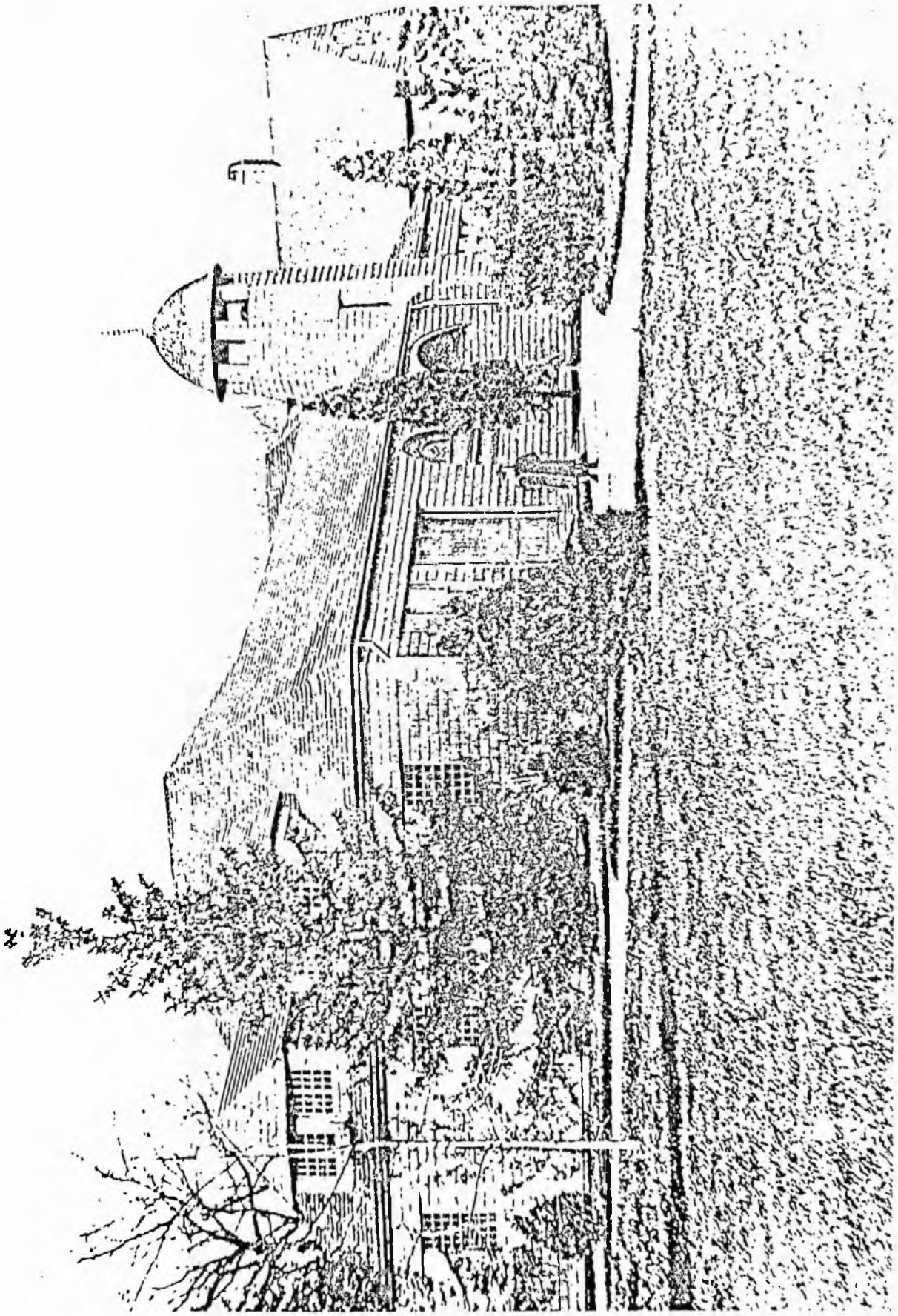
33. John Jacob Astor Casino, Rhinebeck, N.Y., 1902-4 (M pl.113).



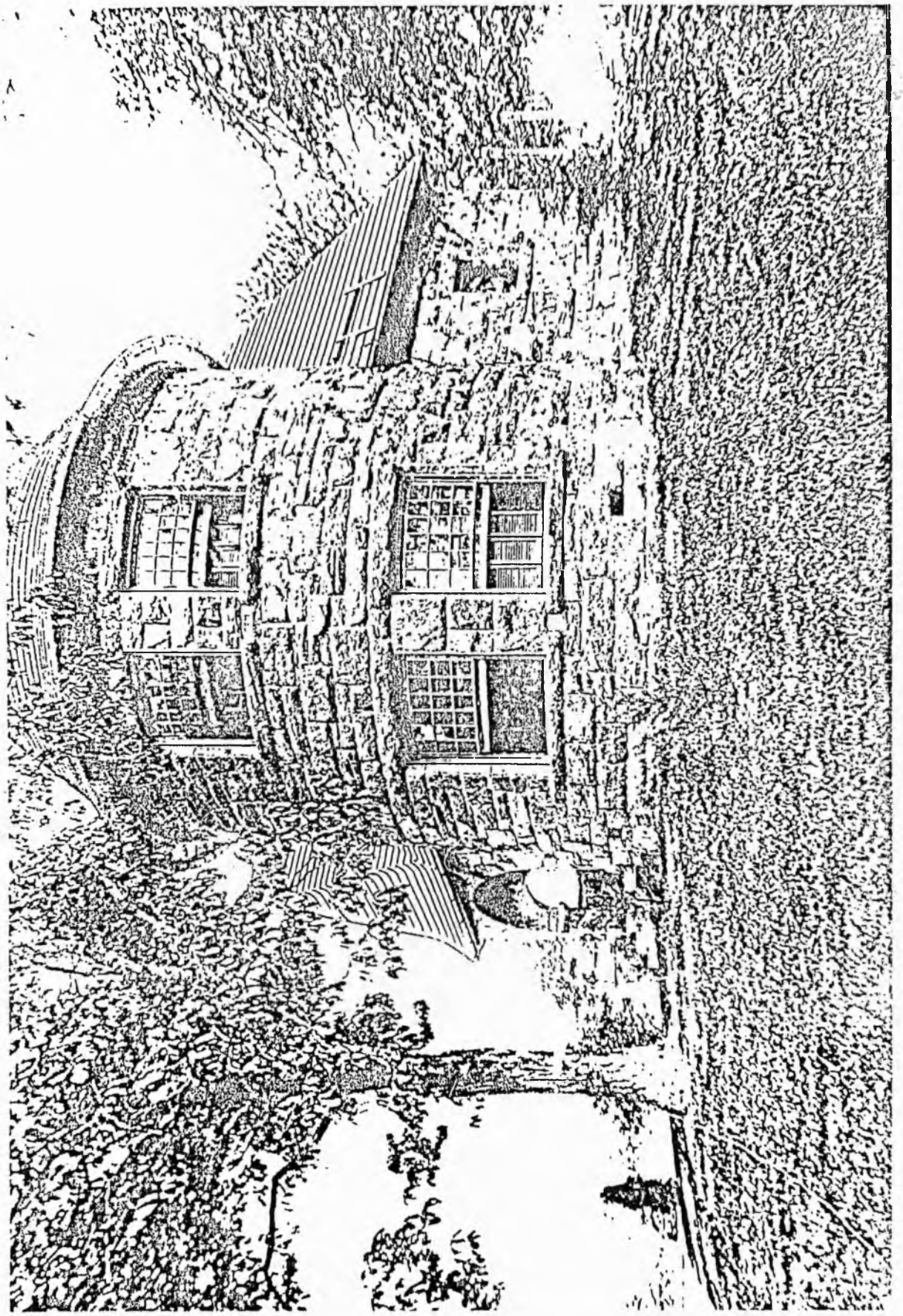
34. Mrs. Herman Oelricks House, "Rosecliff" Newport, R.I., 1897-1902 (W)



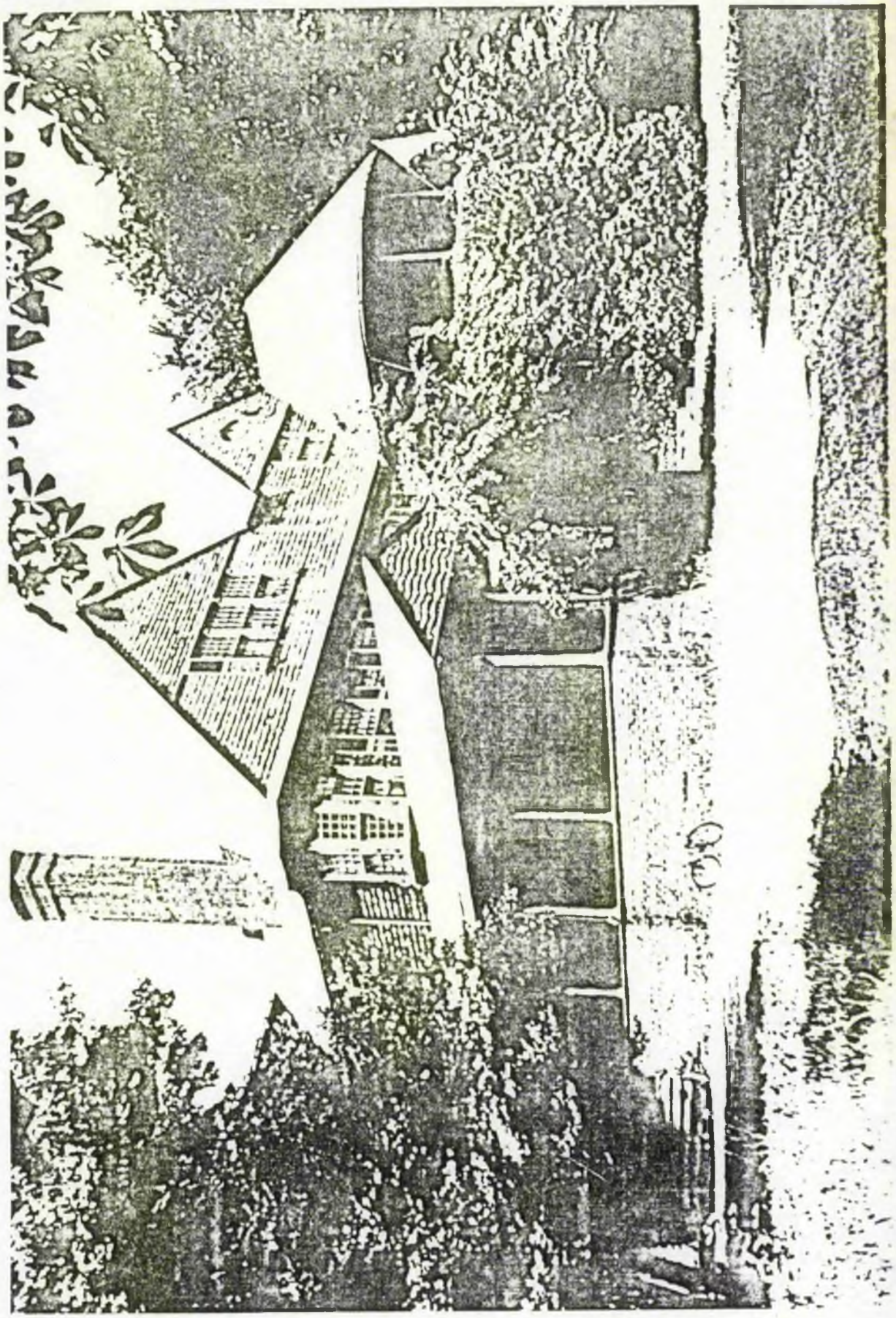
35. Charles J. Osborn house, Mamaroneck, N.Y., 1883-85 (M pl.13)



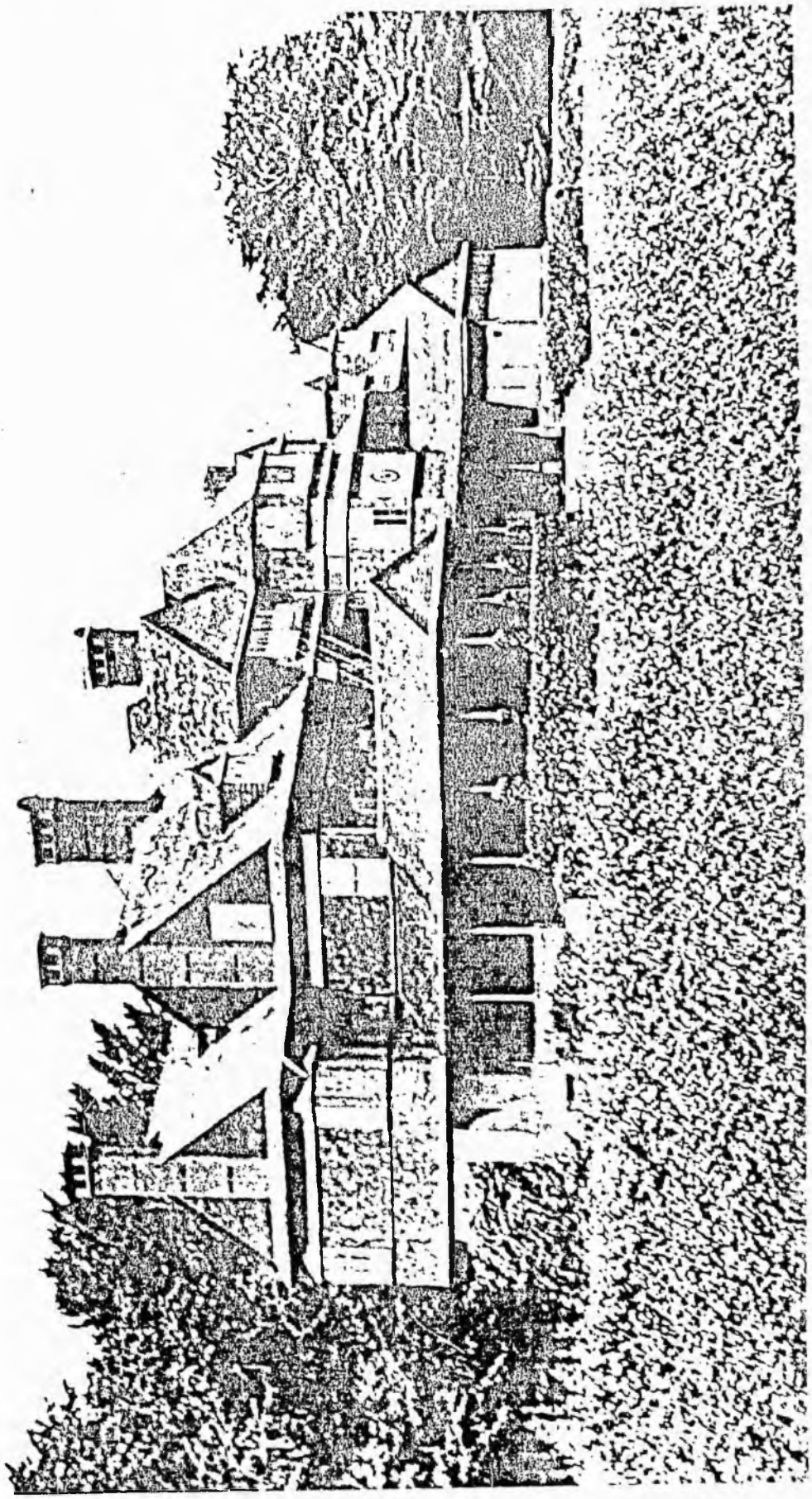
36. Charles J. Osborn, stables, Mamaroneck, N.Y., 1883-85
(M pl.20)



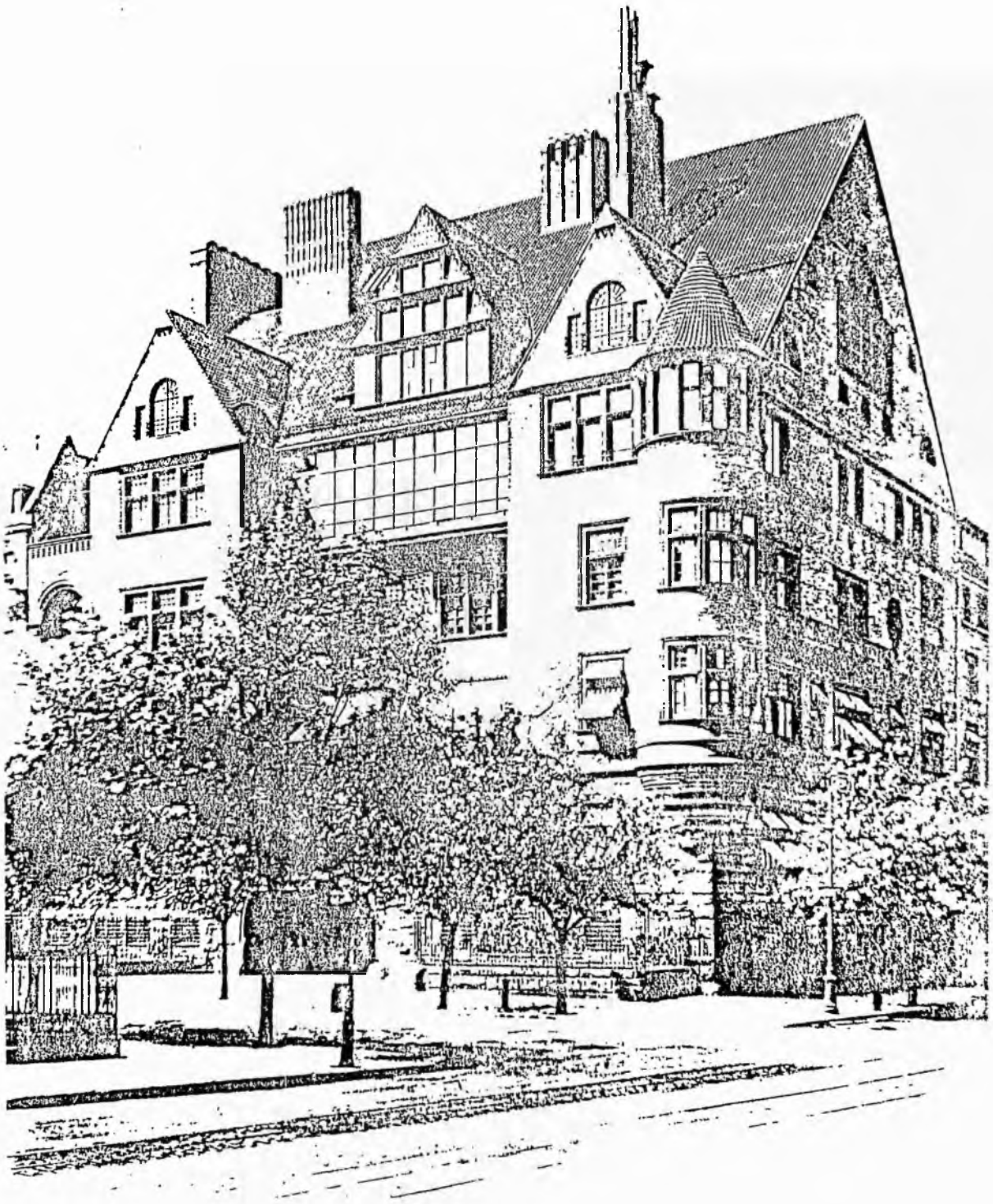
37. Charles J. Osborn, gatelodge, Mamaroneck, N.Y., 1883-85 (M pl.19).



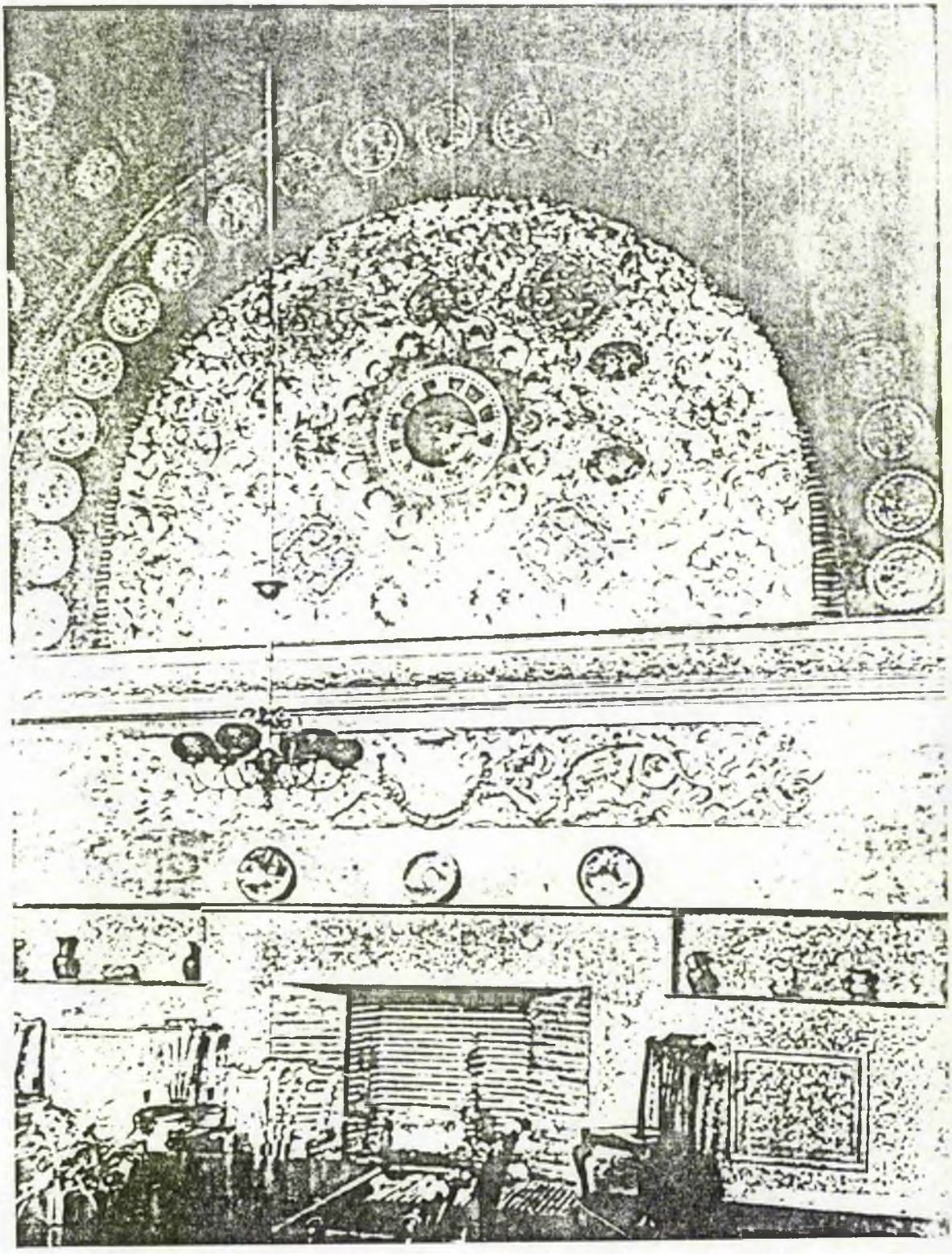
38. Isaac Bell House, Newport, R.I., 1882-83 (W).



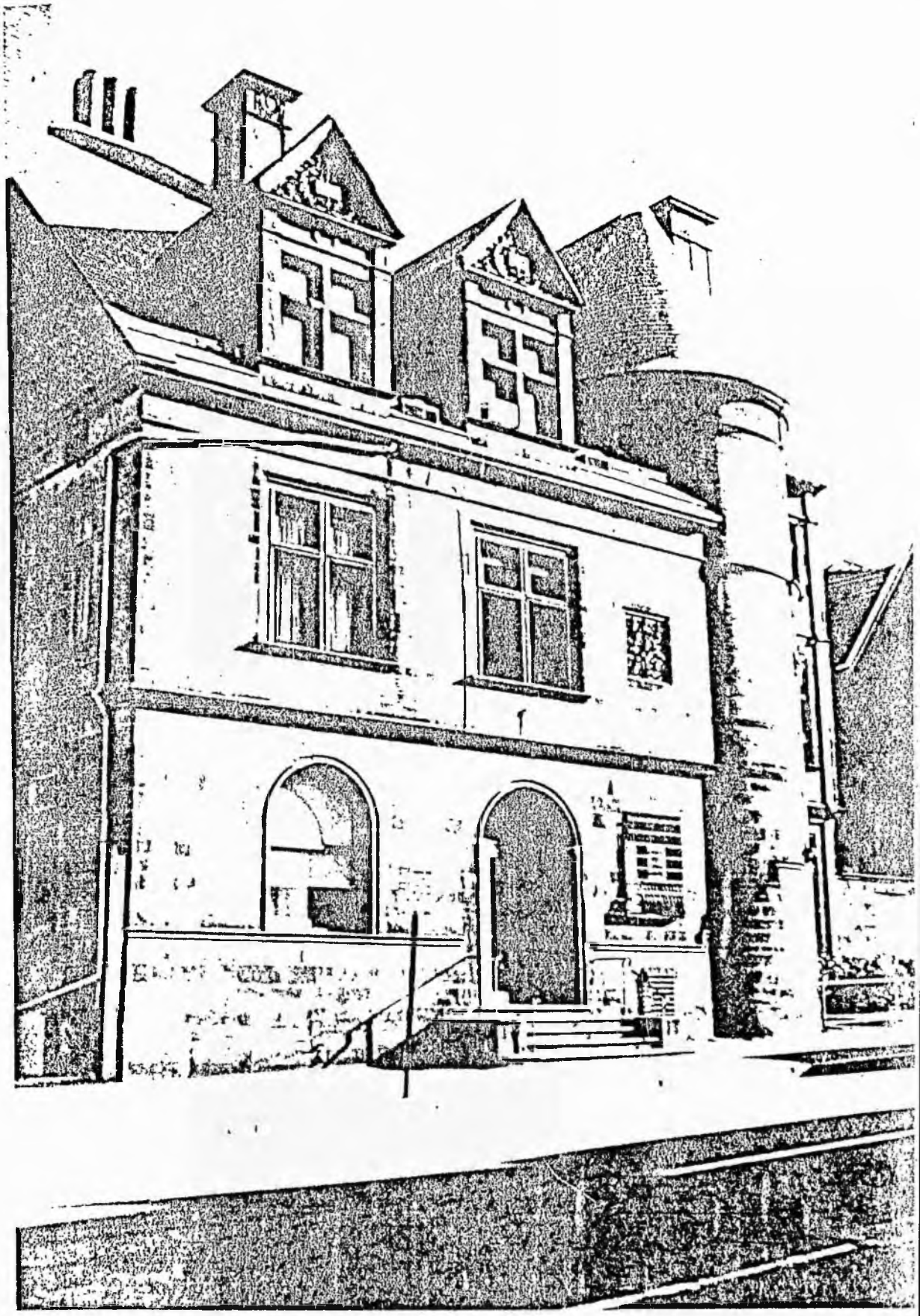
39. Robert Goelet house, Newport, R.I., 1882-83 (W)



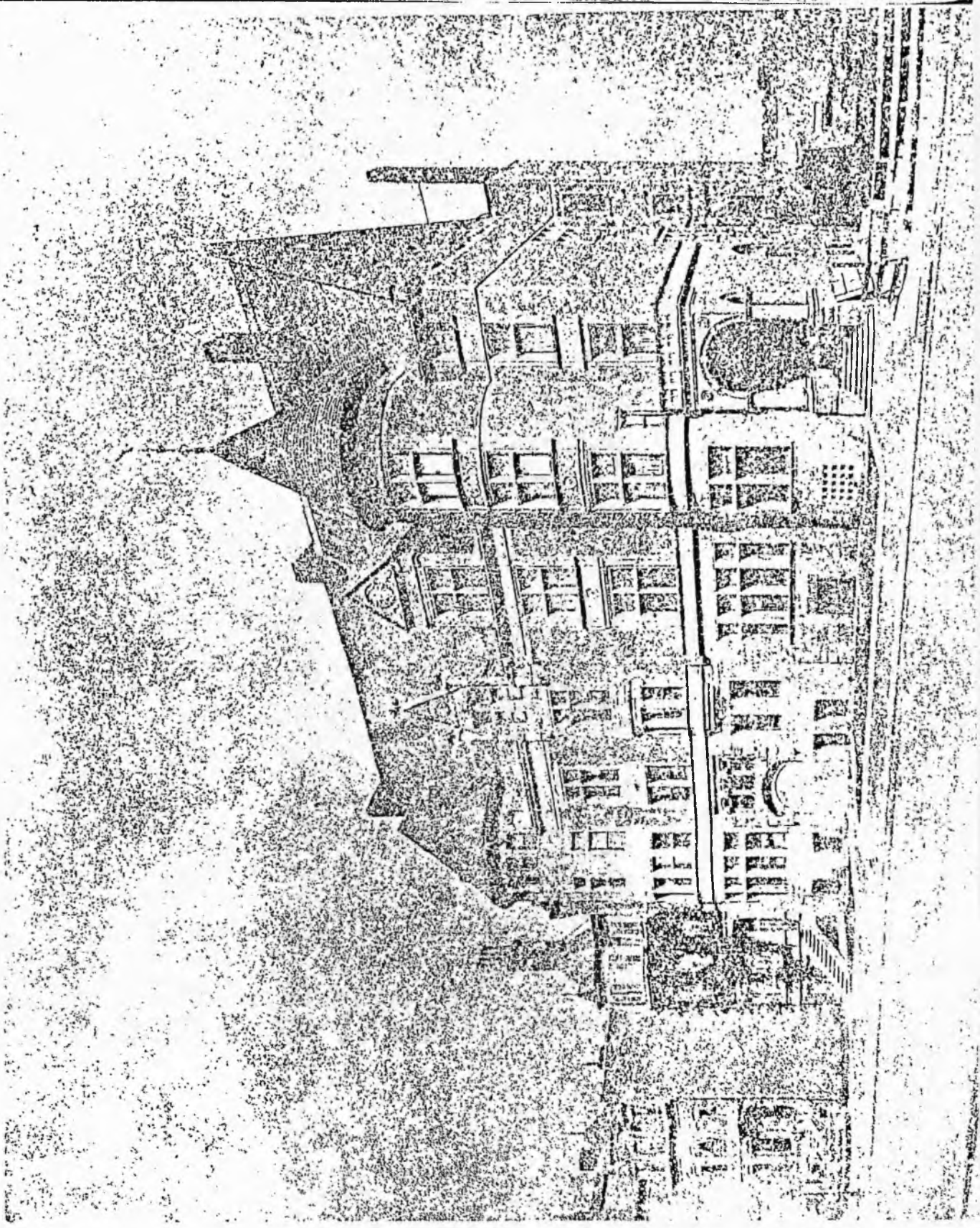
40. Charles L. Tiffany house, N.Y., 1882-85 (M pl.5).



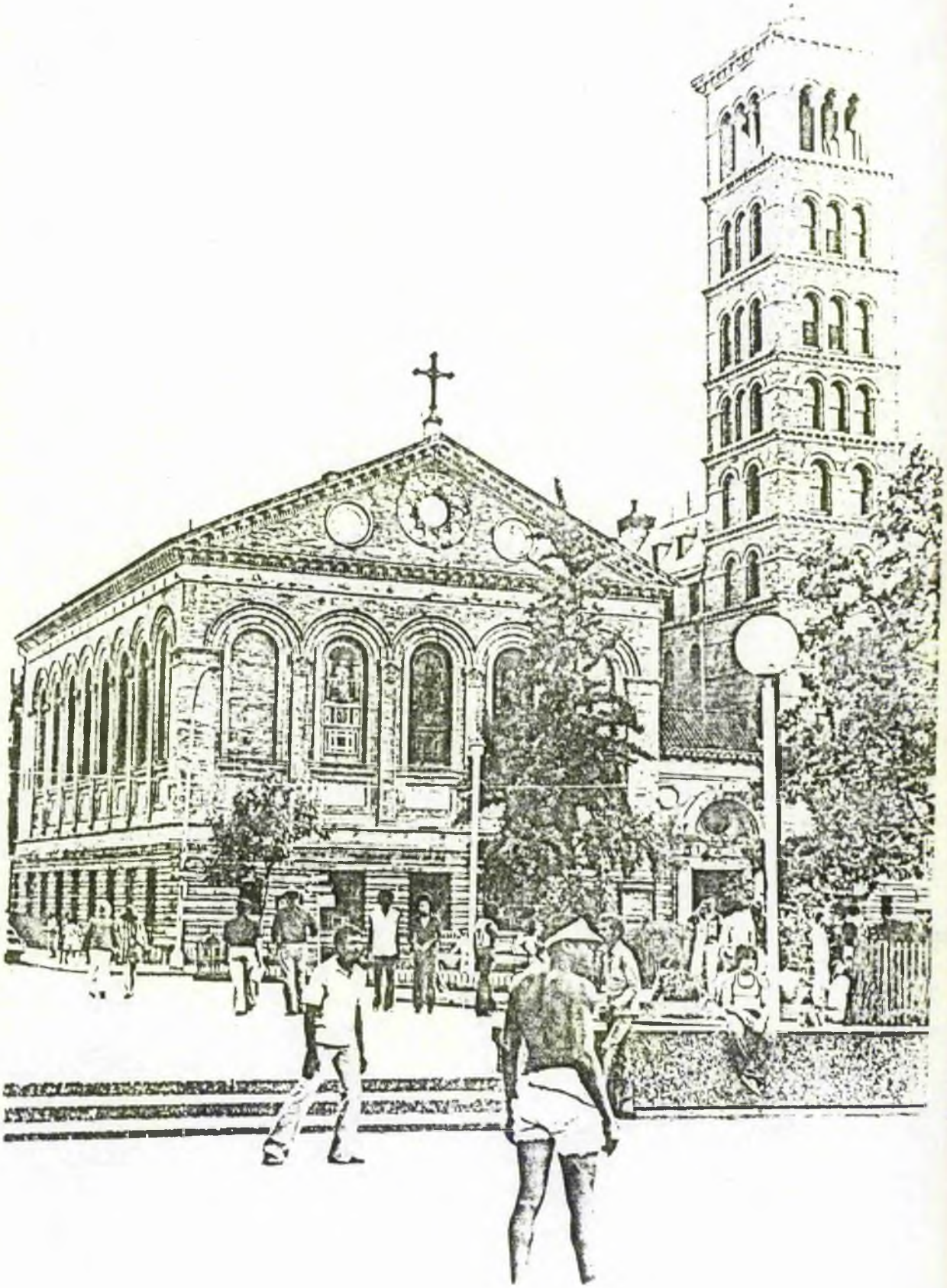
41. Charles L. Tiffany dining room (American Architect and Building News 12 (10 December 1887): illus.624).



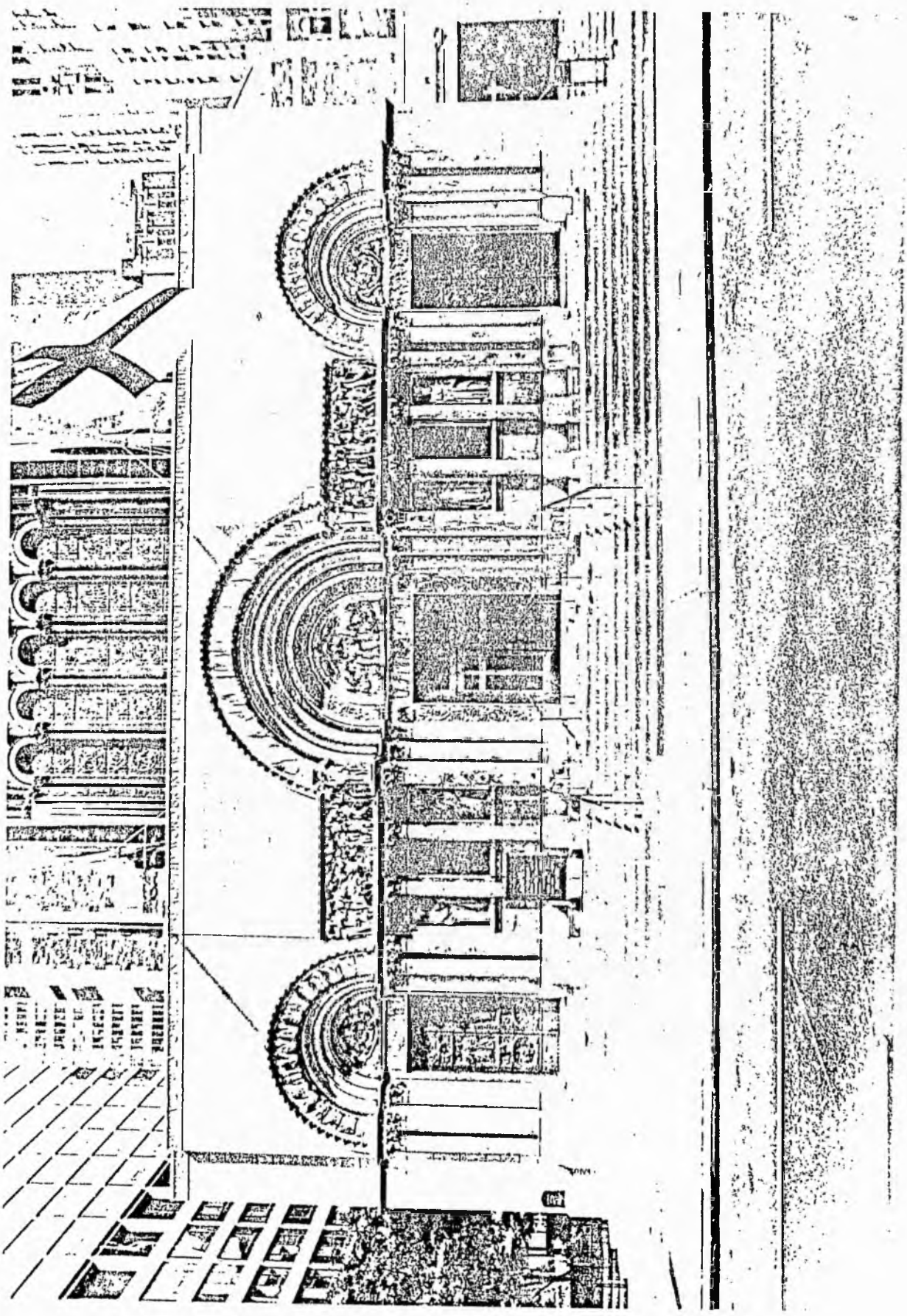
42. Ross Winans house, Baltimore, Md., 1881-83 (W)



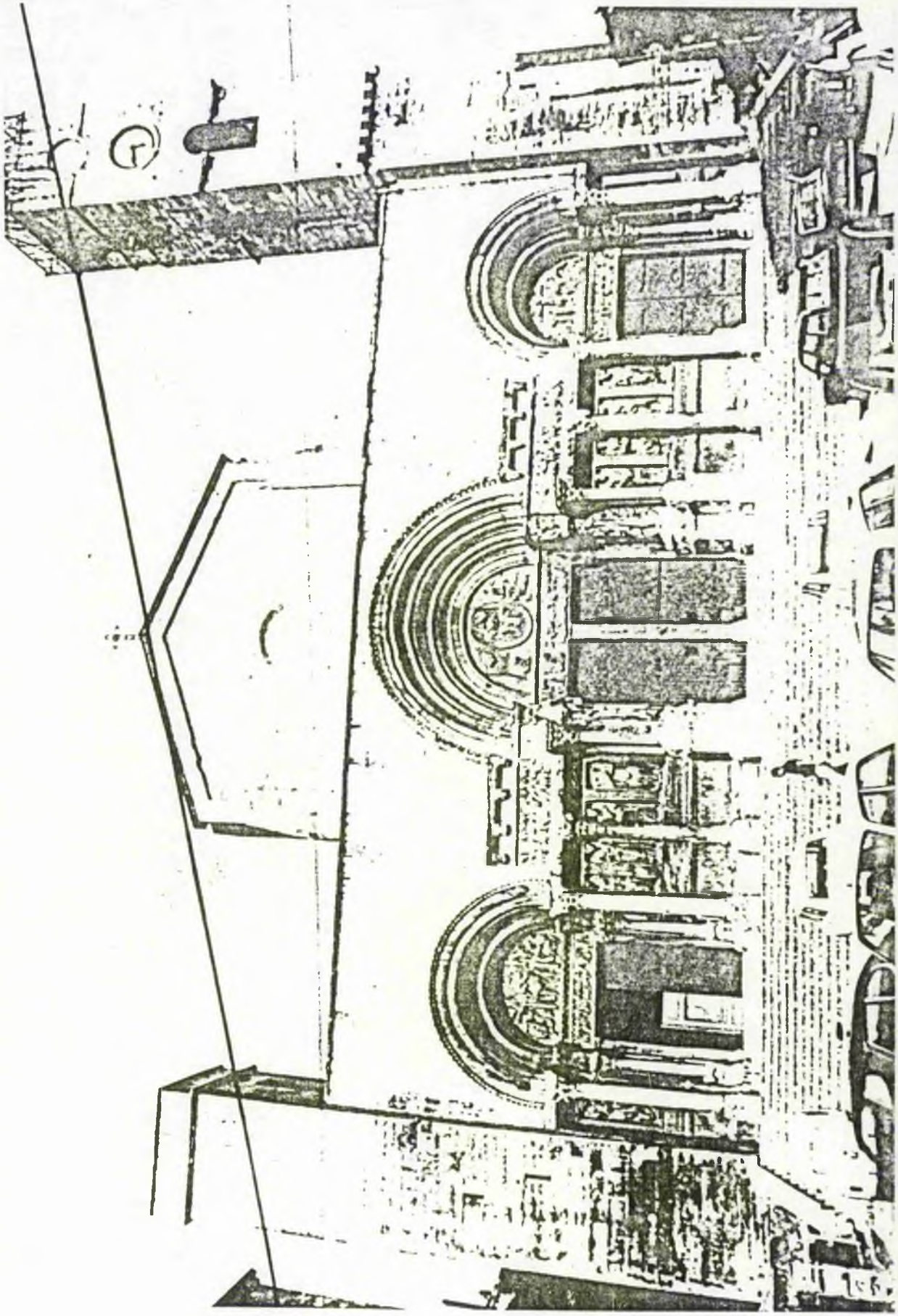
43. Charles A. Whittier house, Beacon Street, Boston, 1881-83 by McKim, Mead and White (right) and the F.L. Higginson house (left) by H. H. Richardson, 1881-83 (American Architect and Building News 14 (24 November 1883) pl.413).



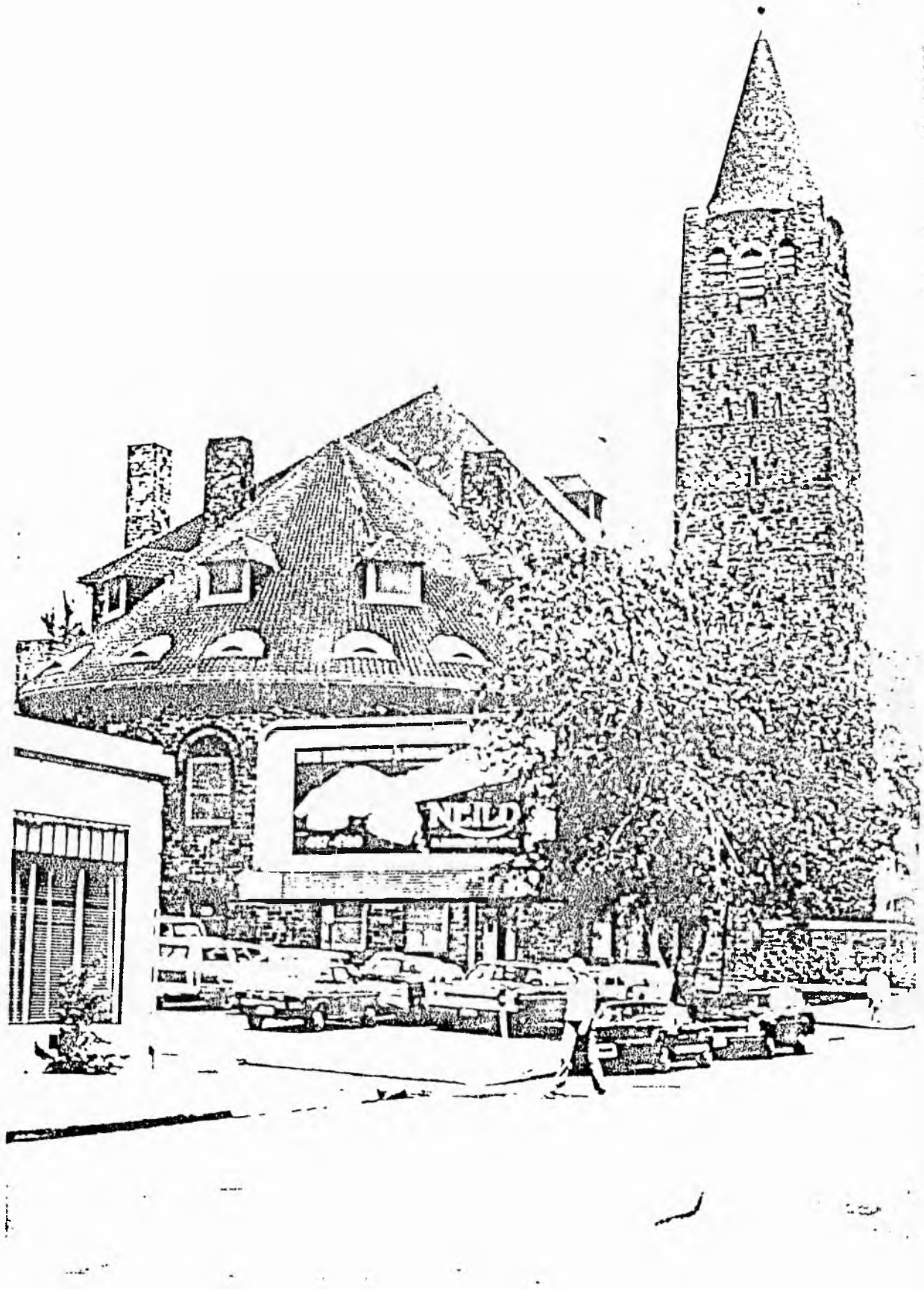
44. Judson Memorial Church, N.Y., 1888-96 (W).



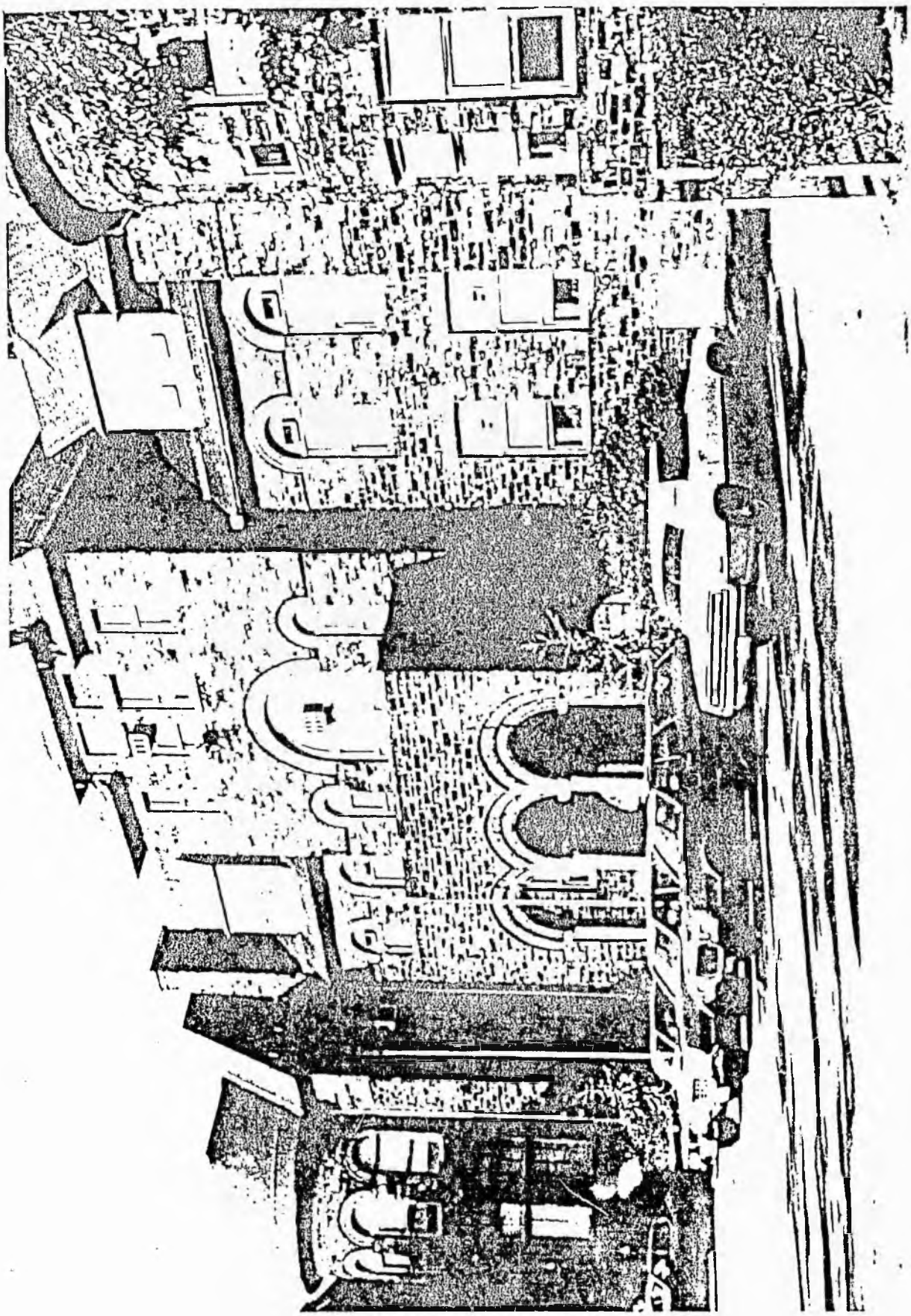
45. St. Bartholomew's Church Porch (Commodore Vanderbilt Memorial), N.Y., 1901-3 (W).



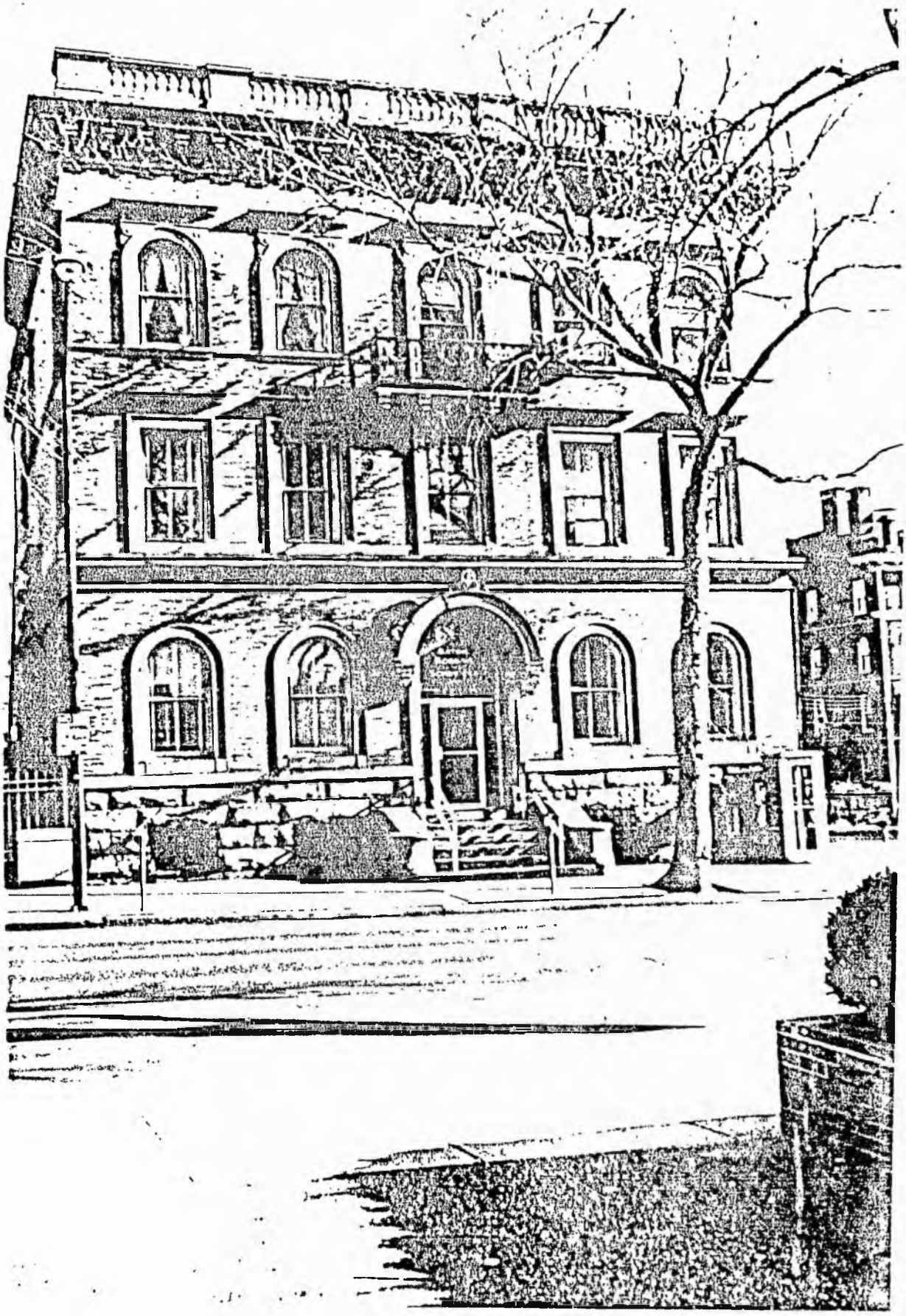
46. St. Gilles-du-Gard, France, 12th century (?)



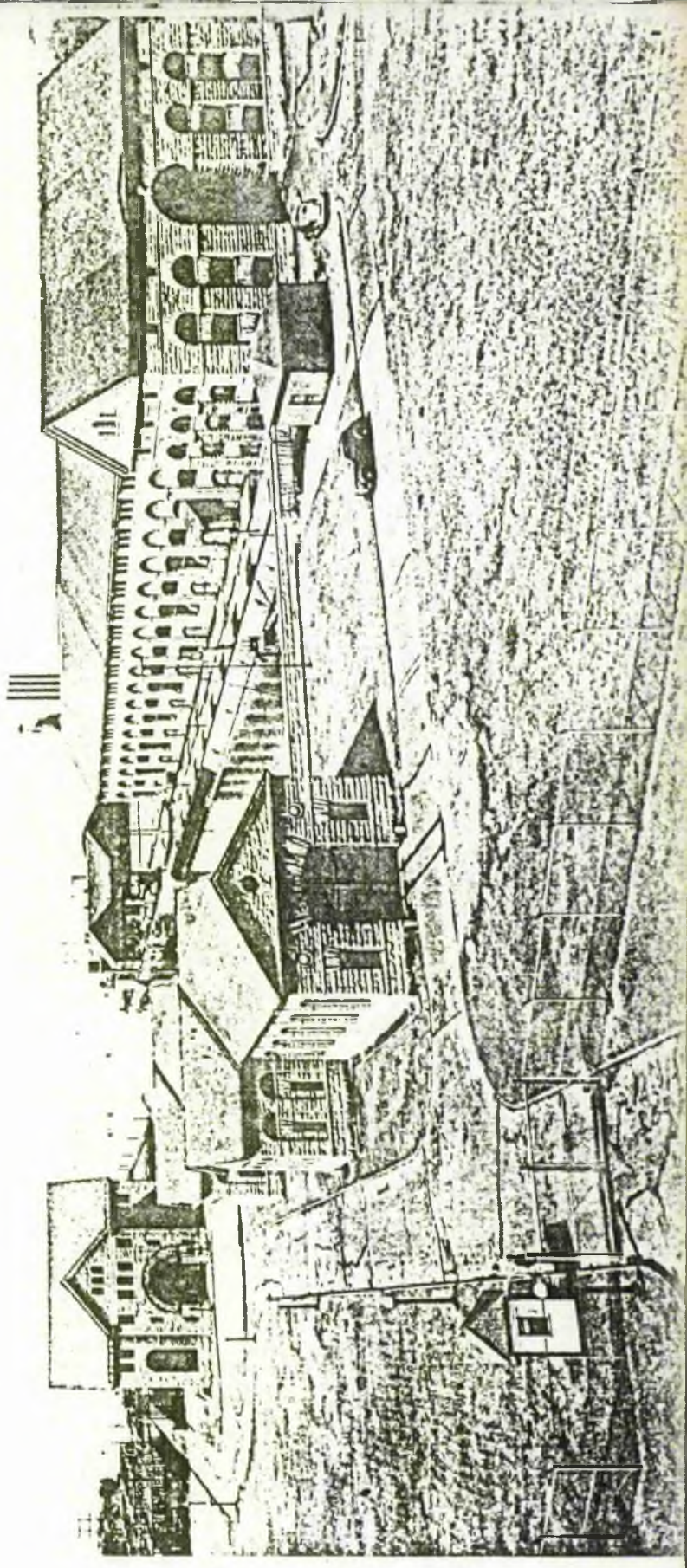
47. First Methodist-Episcopal (now Lovely Lane) Church, Baltimore, Md., 1882-87 (W).



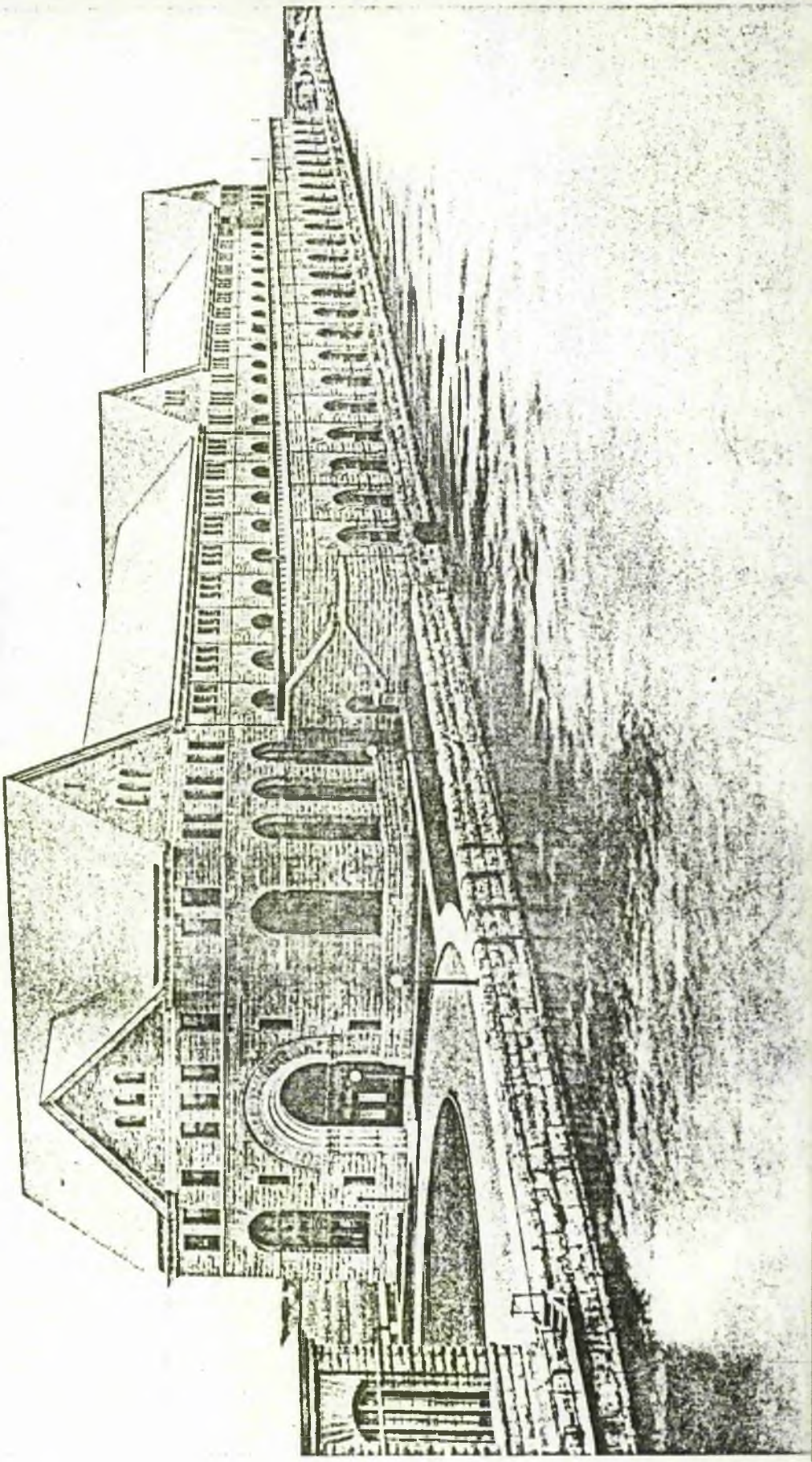
48. Women's College of Baltimore (later, but no longer Goucher College), Baltimore, Md., 1887-94 (W)



49. Dr. John Goucher house, Baltimore, Md., 1891-92 (W)



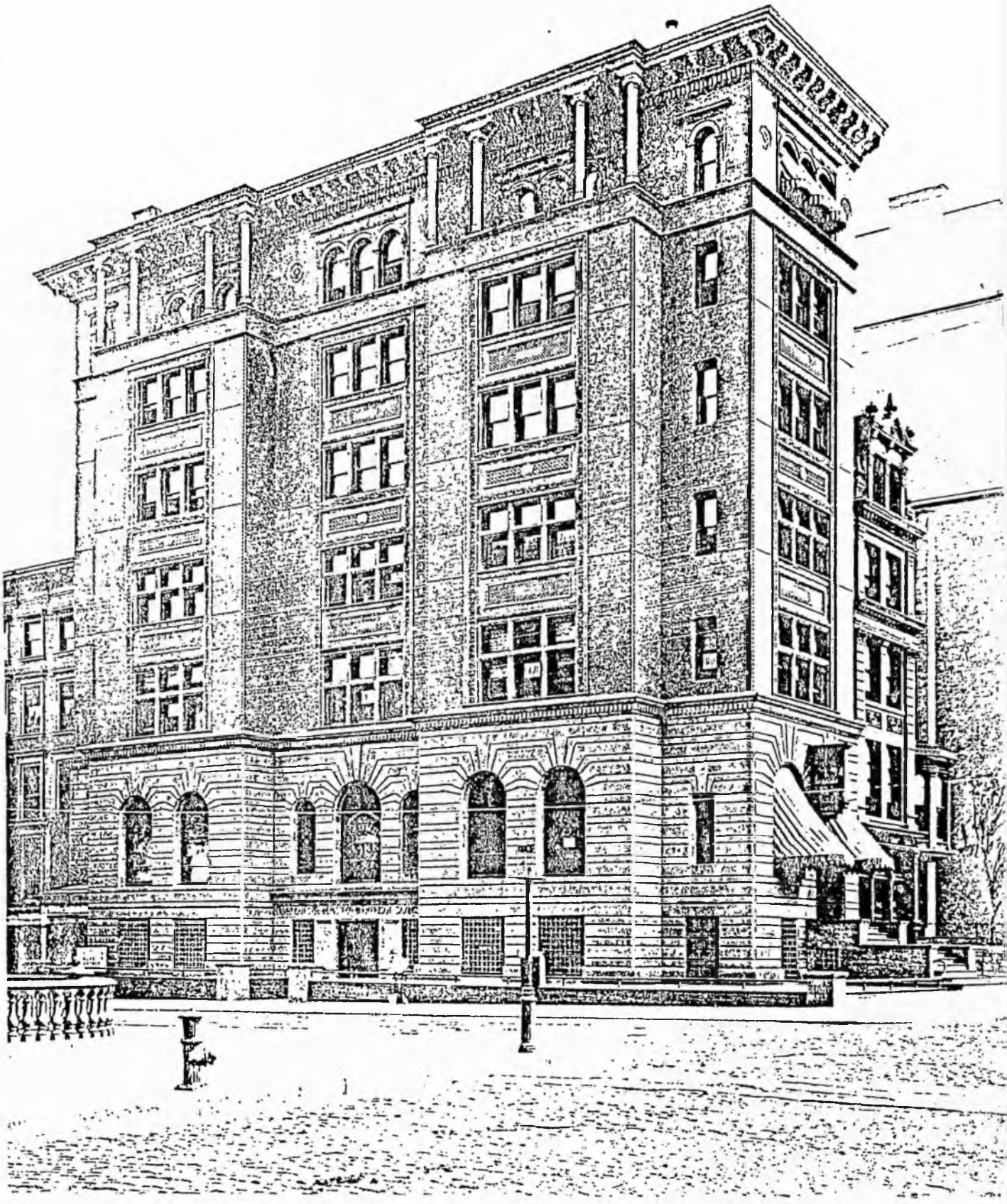
50. Niagara Falls Power Station, Niagara Falls, N.Y., 1890-92. Extreme left, Power House number 2, and right, Power House number 1 (Niagara Falls Historical Society Inc.).



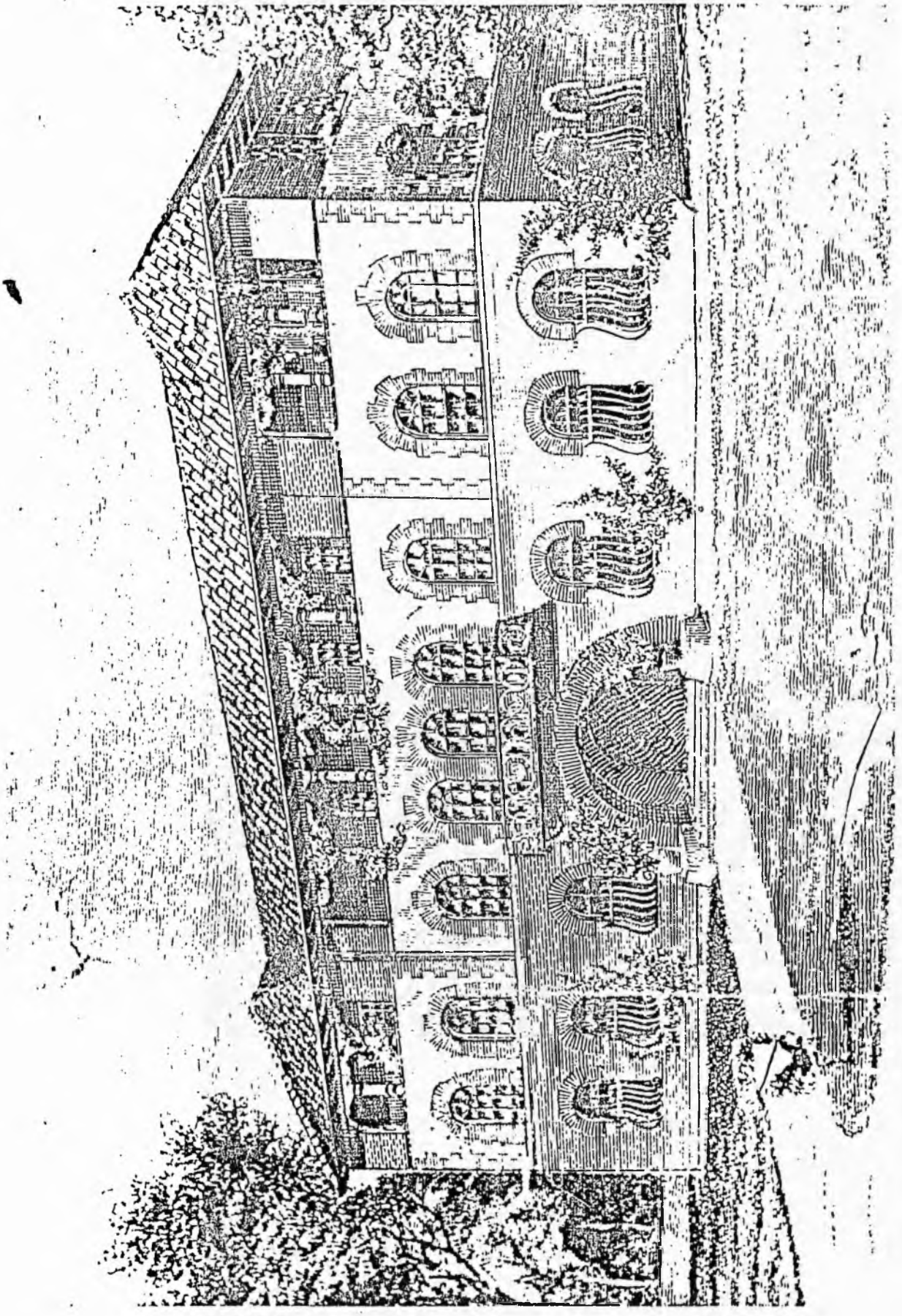
51. Niagara Falls Power Station, Niagara Falls, N.Y., Power House number 2 (Niagara Falls Historical Society Inc.)

STREET IN ECHOTA ON LANDS OF NIAGARA DEVELOPMENT COMPANY.

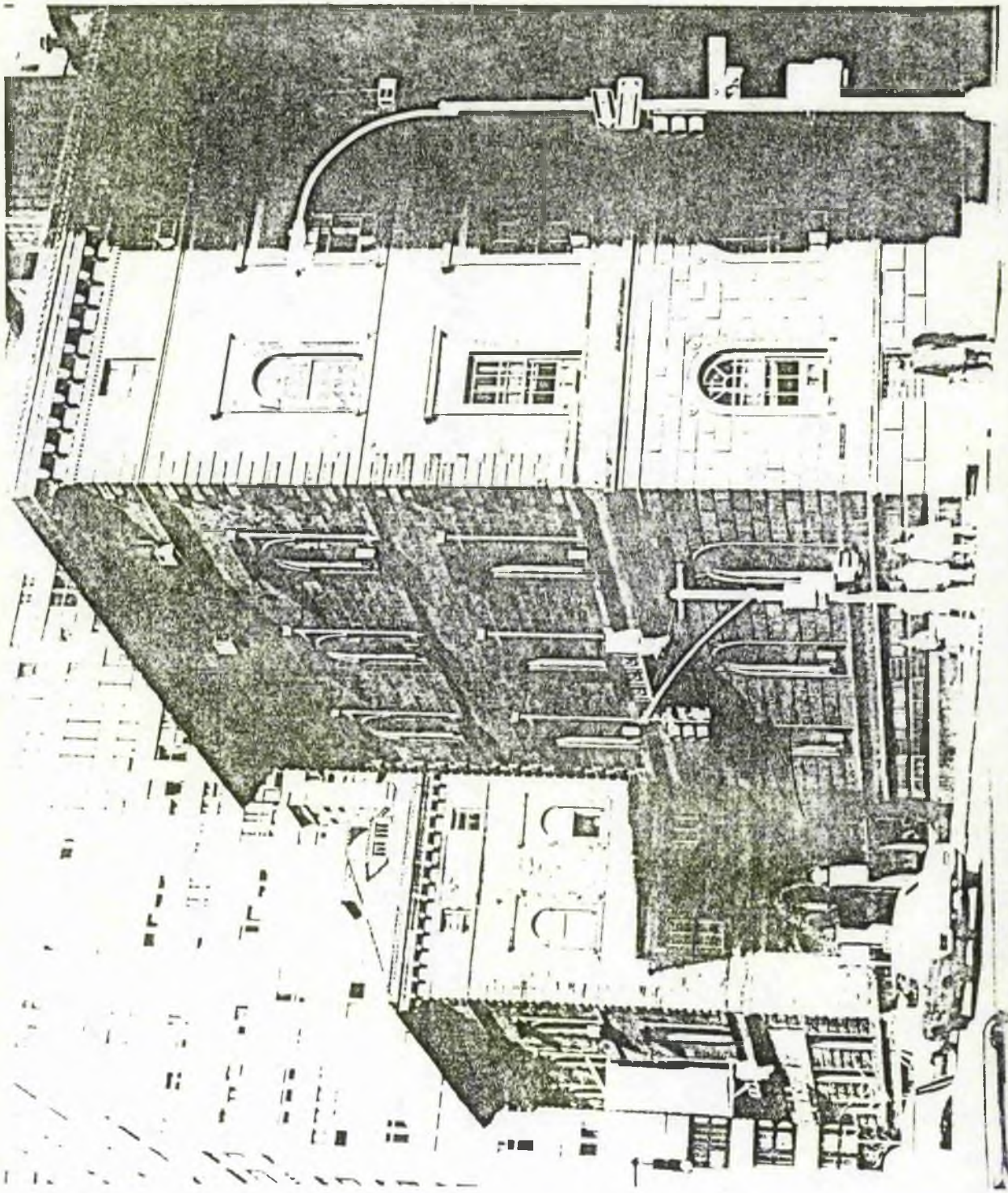
52. Echota, N.Y., typical street (Niagara Falls Historical Society Inc.)



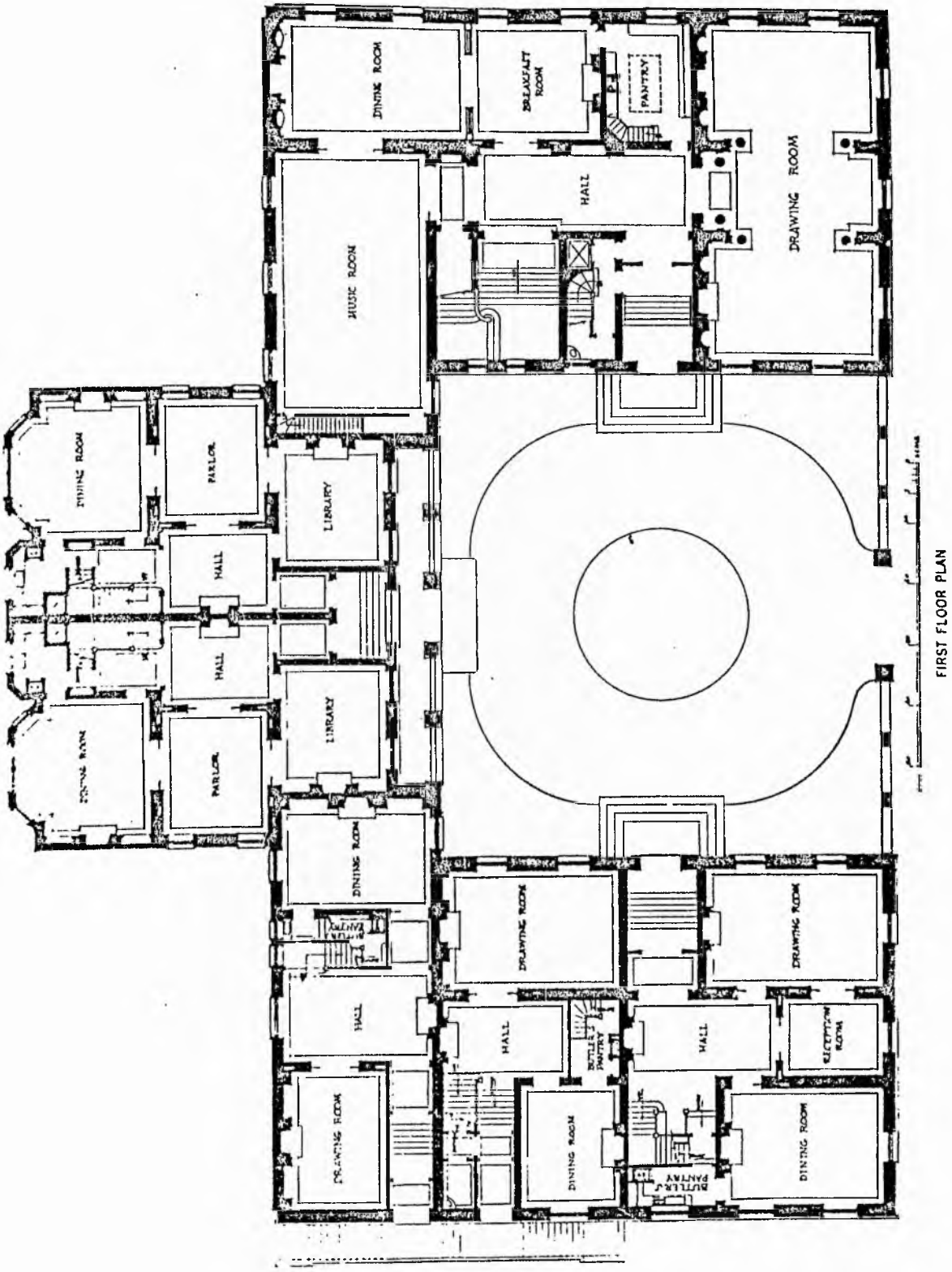
53. American Safe Deposit Company, N.Y., 1882 (Museum of the City of New York).



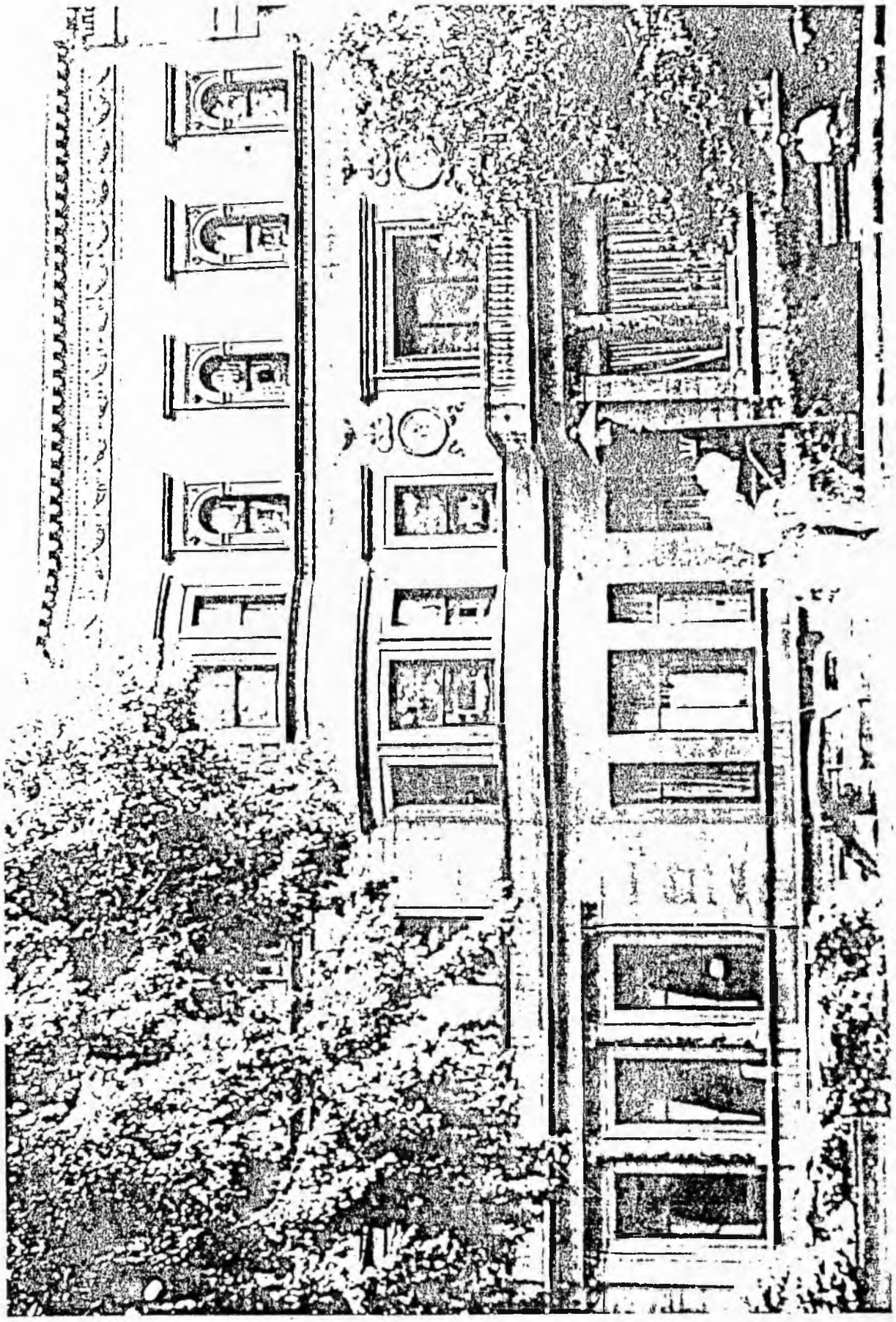
54. Ramona (Indian Girl's) School,Santa Fe, N.M., 1882 (New York Historical Society).



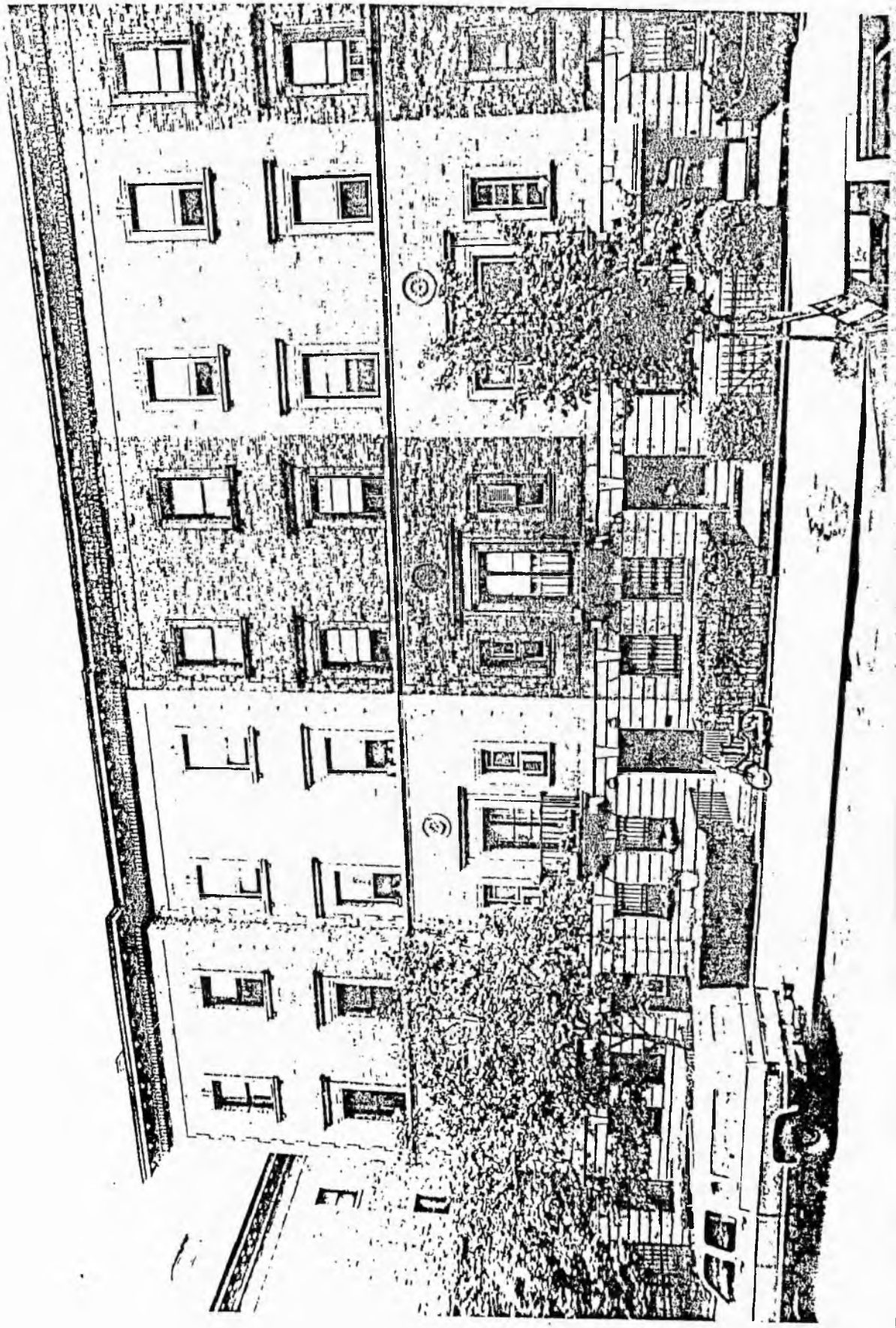
55. Villard Mansions, N.Y., 1882-86 (?)



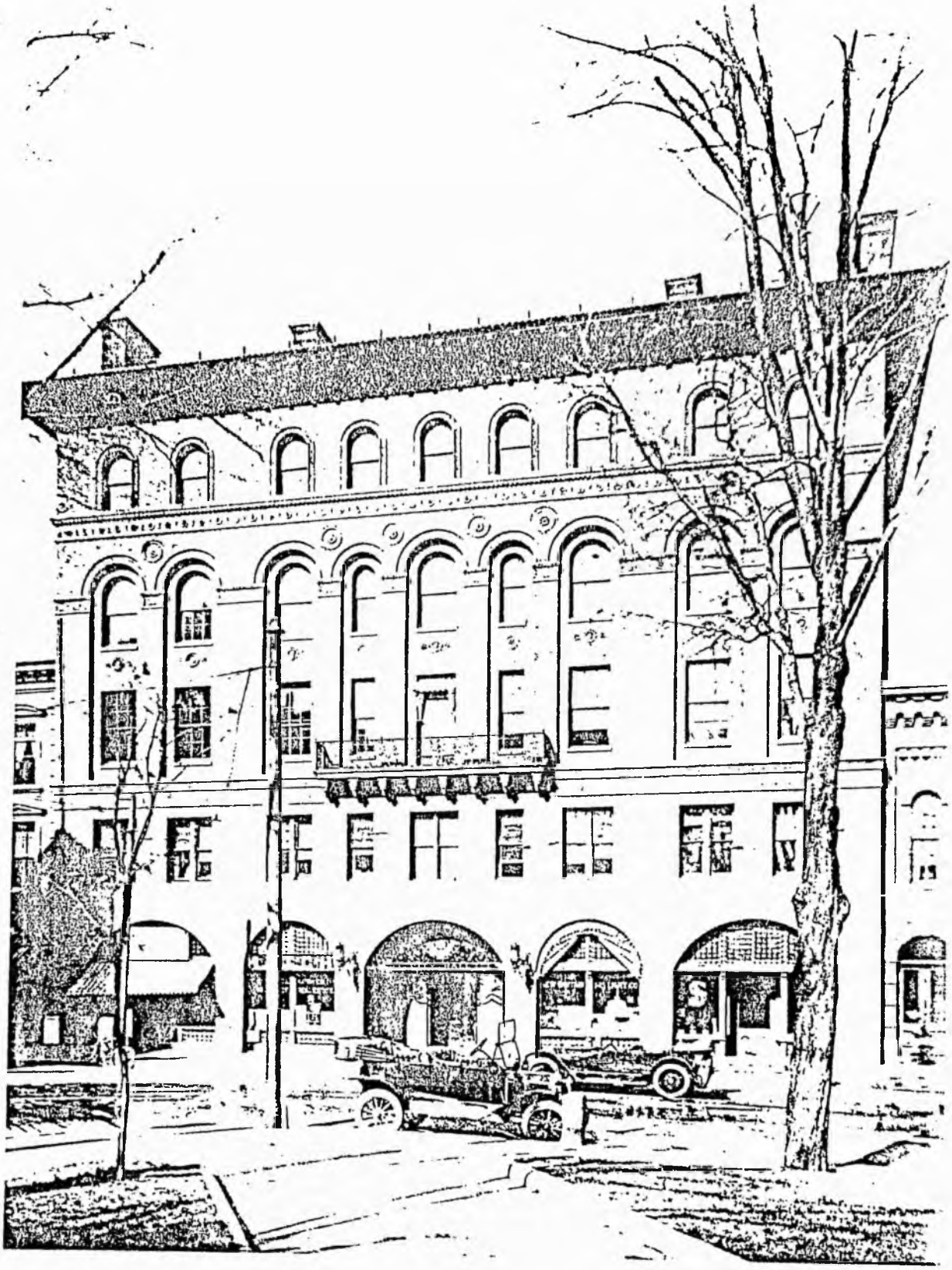
56. Villard Mansions, N.Y., plan, 1882-86 (M pl.7)



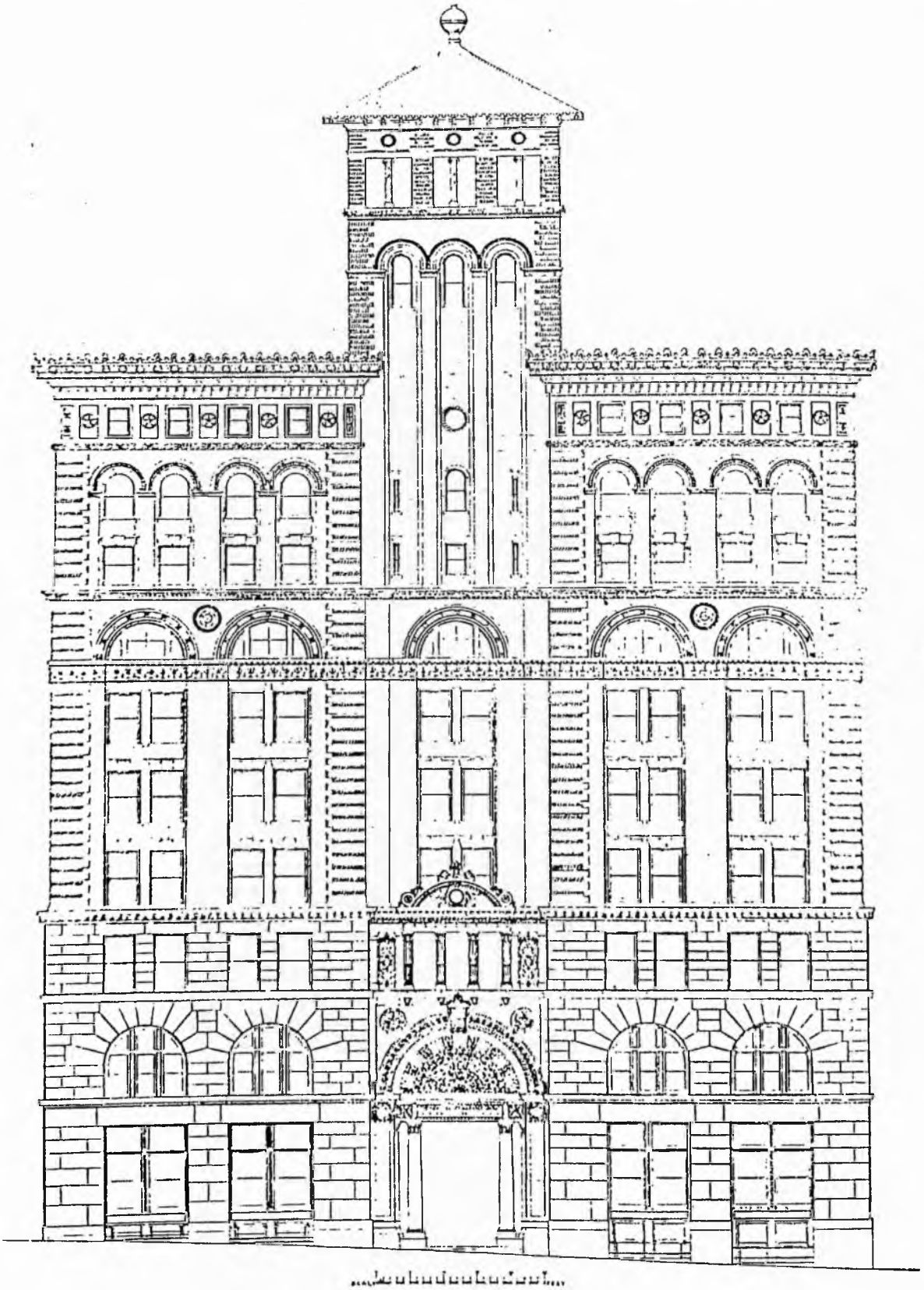
57. Robert Garrett's house, Mount Vernon Place, Baltimore, Md., 1883-93 (W)



58. Striver's Row, north side of 139th Street between Seventh and Eighth Avenues, N.Y., 1891 (W)

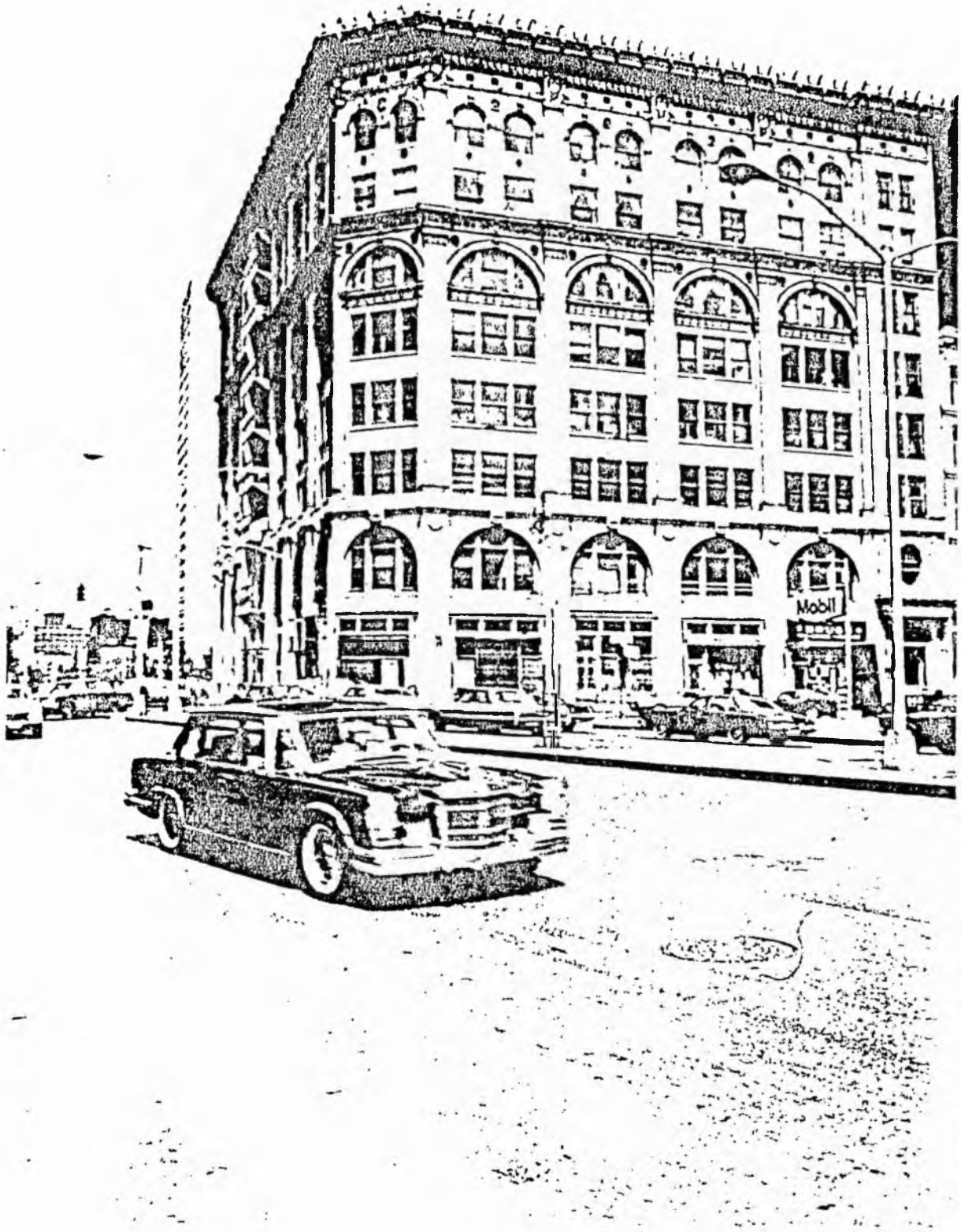


59. Russell and Erwin Building, New Britain, Conn. 1883-84 (M pl.18).

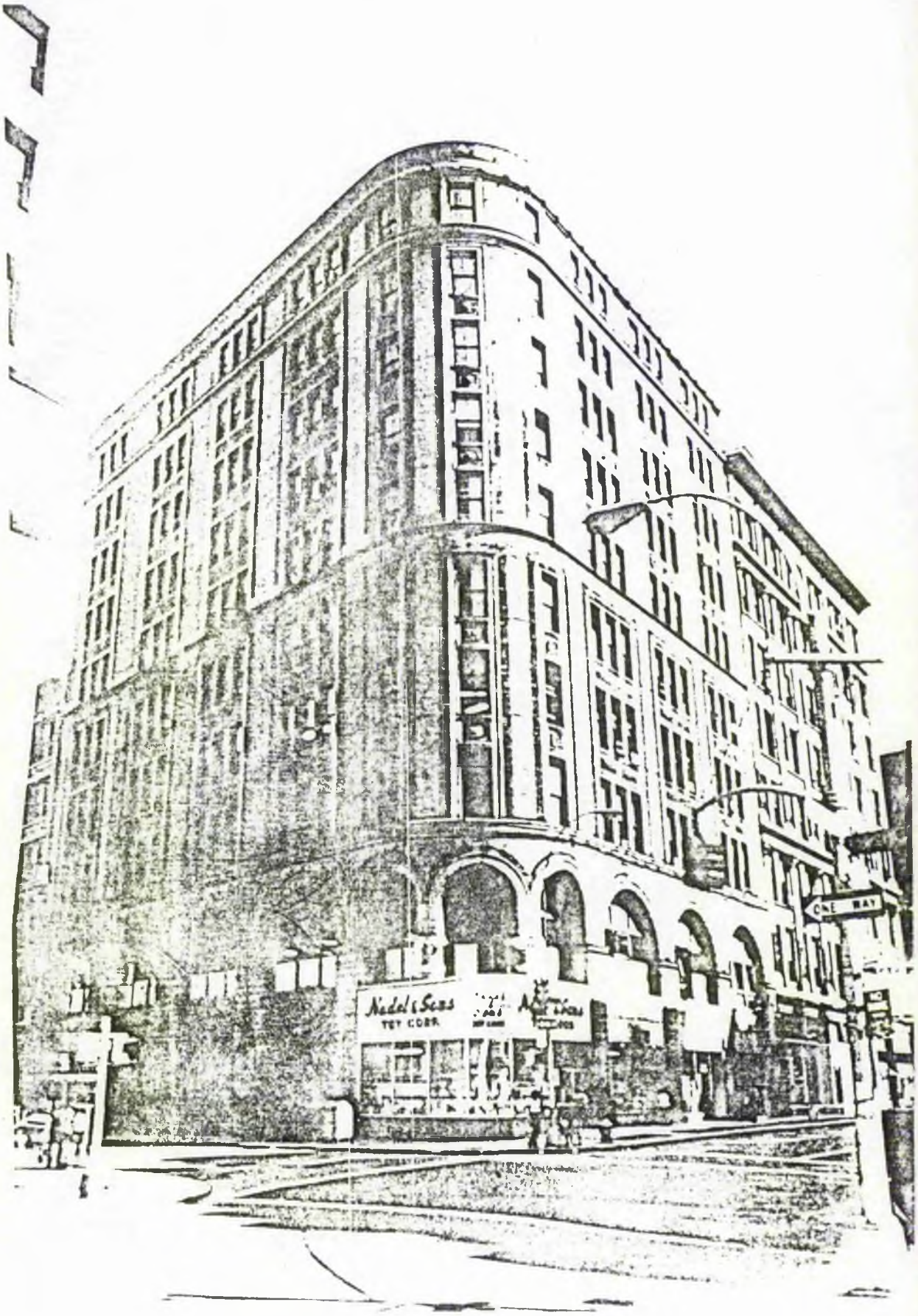


ELEVATION
N.Y. YORK LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY, BUILDING, KANSAS CITY, MO

60. New York Life Insurance Company Building, Kansas City, Mo., 1887-90 (M pl.22)

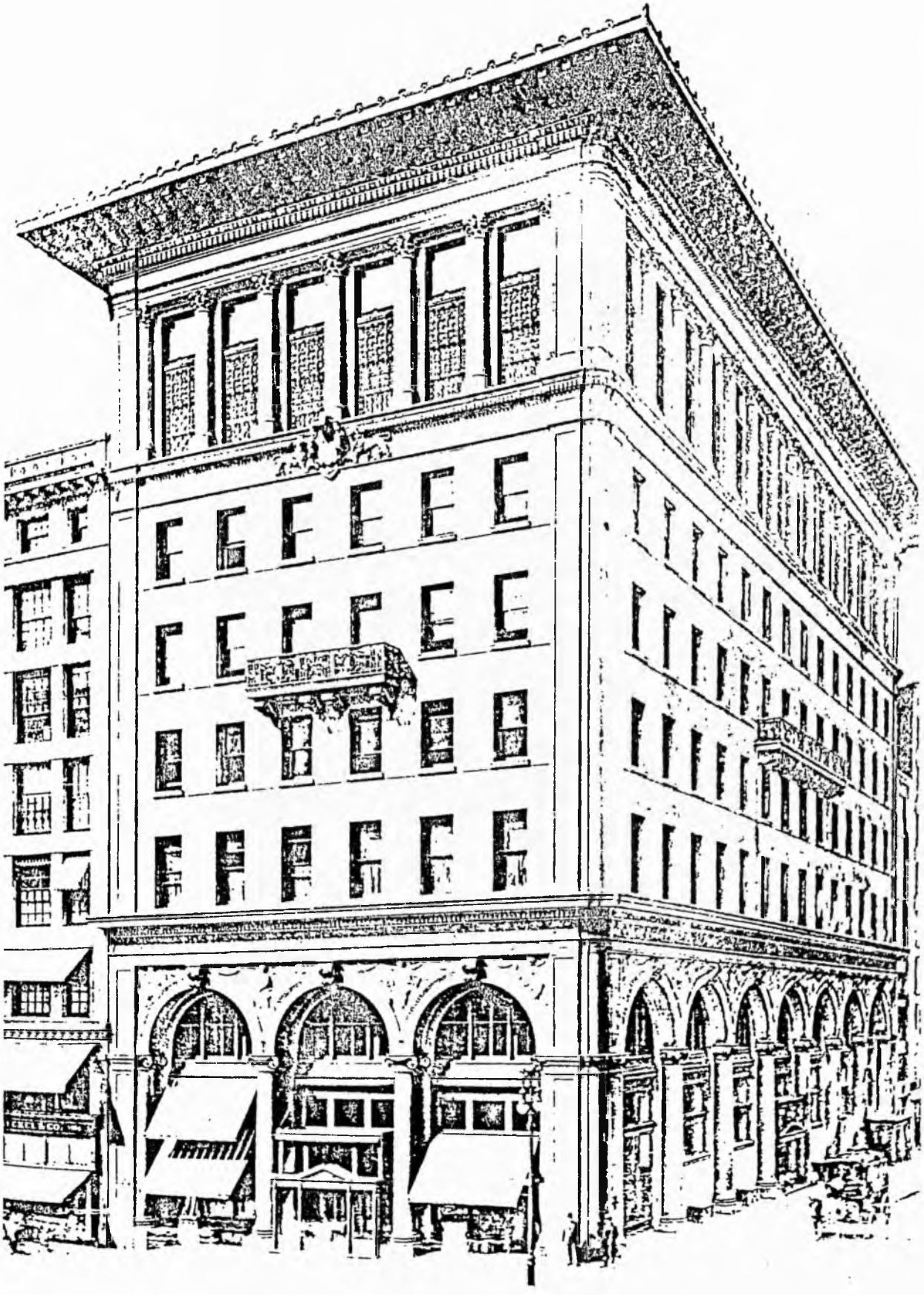


61. Cable Building, N.Y., 1894 (W)

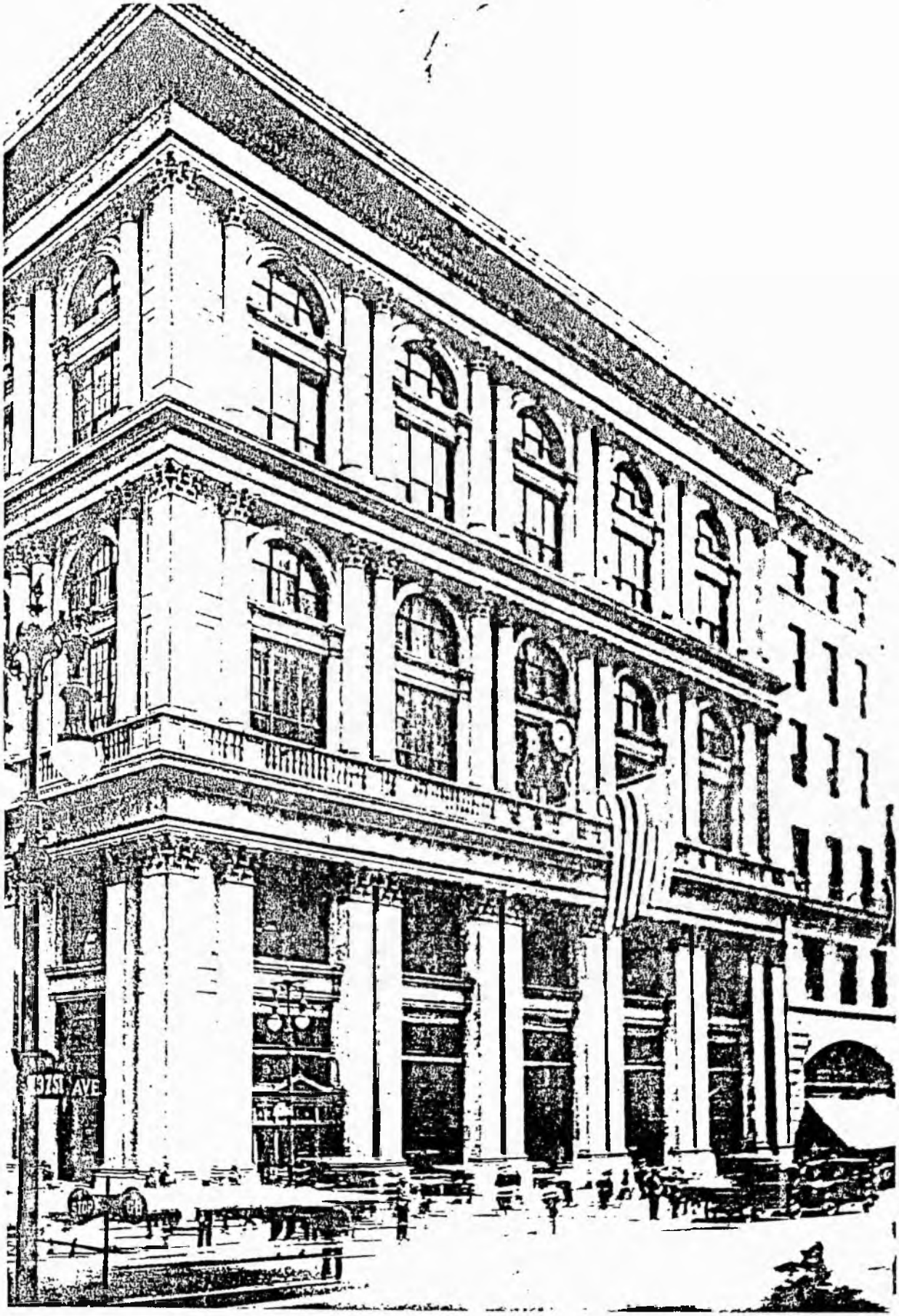


62. Goelet Building, N.Y., 1886, with additional storys (W).

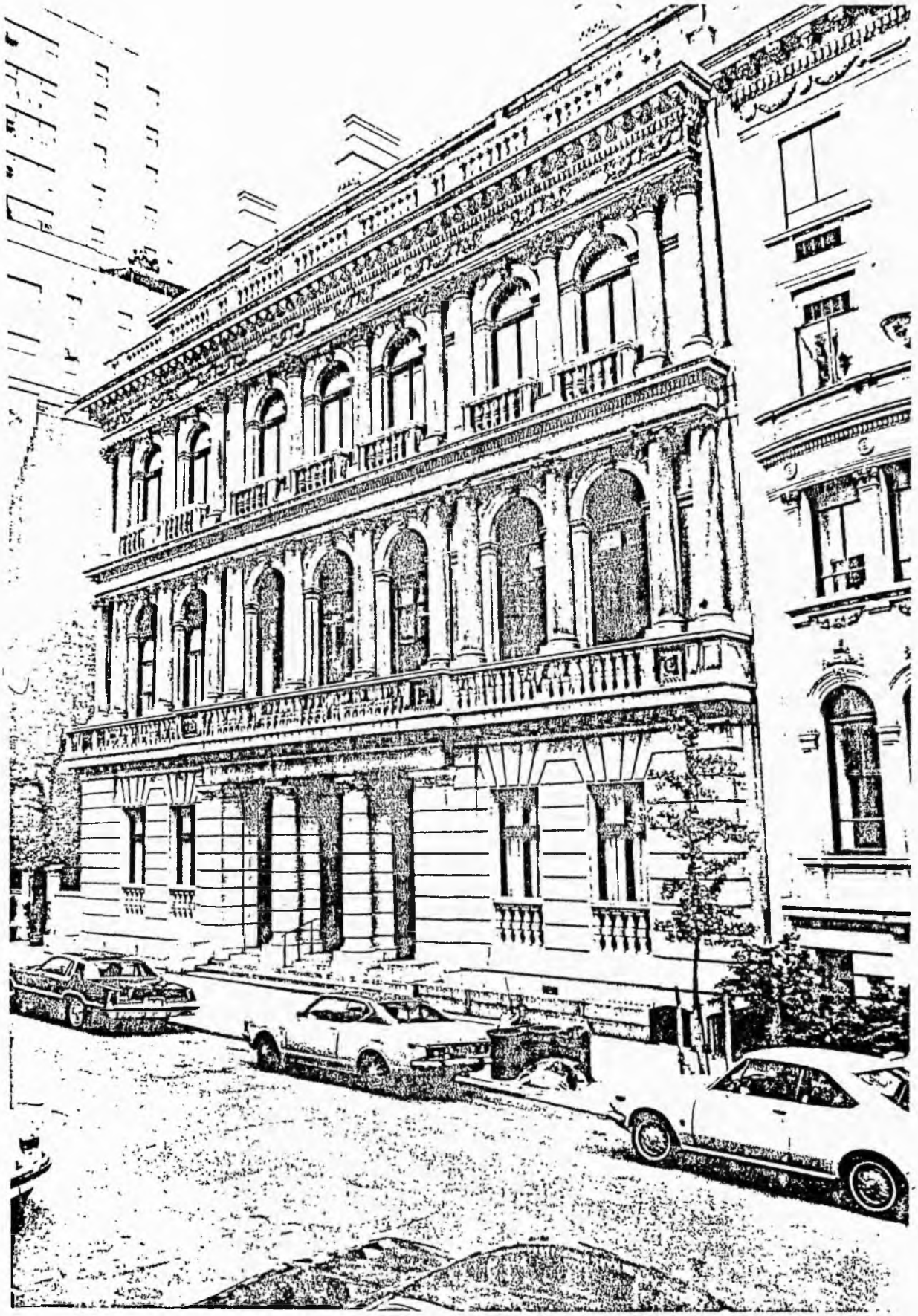
63. New York Life Insurance Company Building, N.Y., 1896-99 (W).



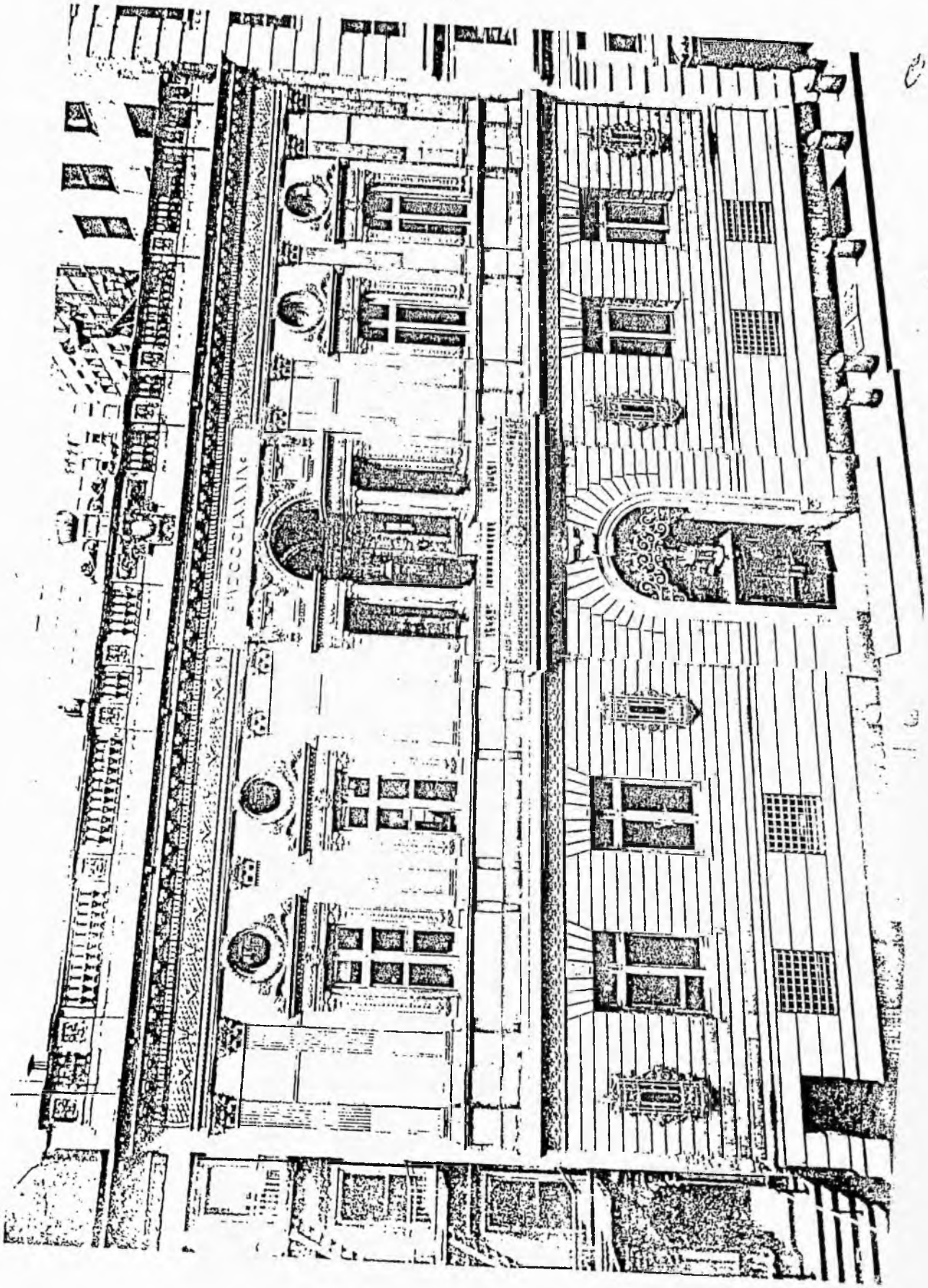
64. Gorham Building, N.Y., 1903-6 (M pl.234)



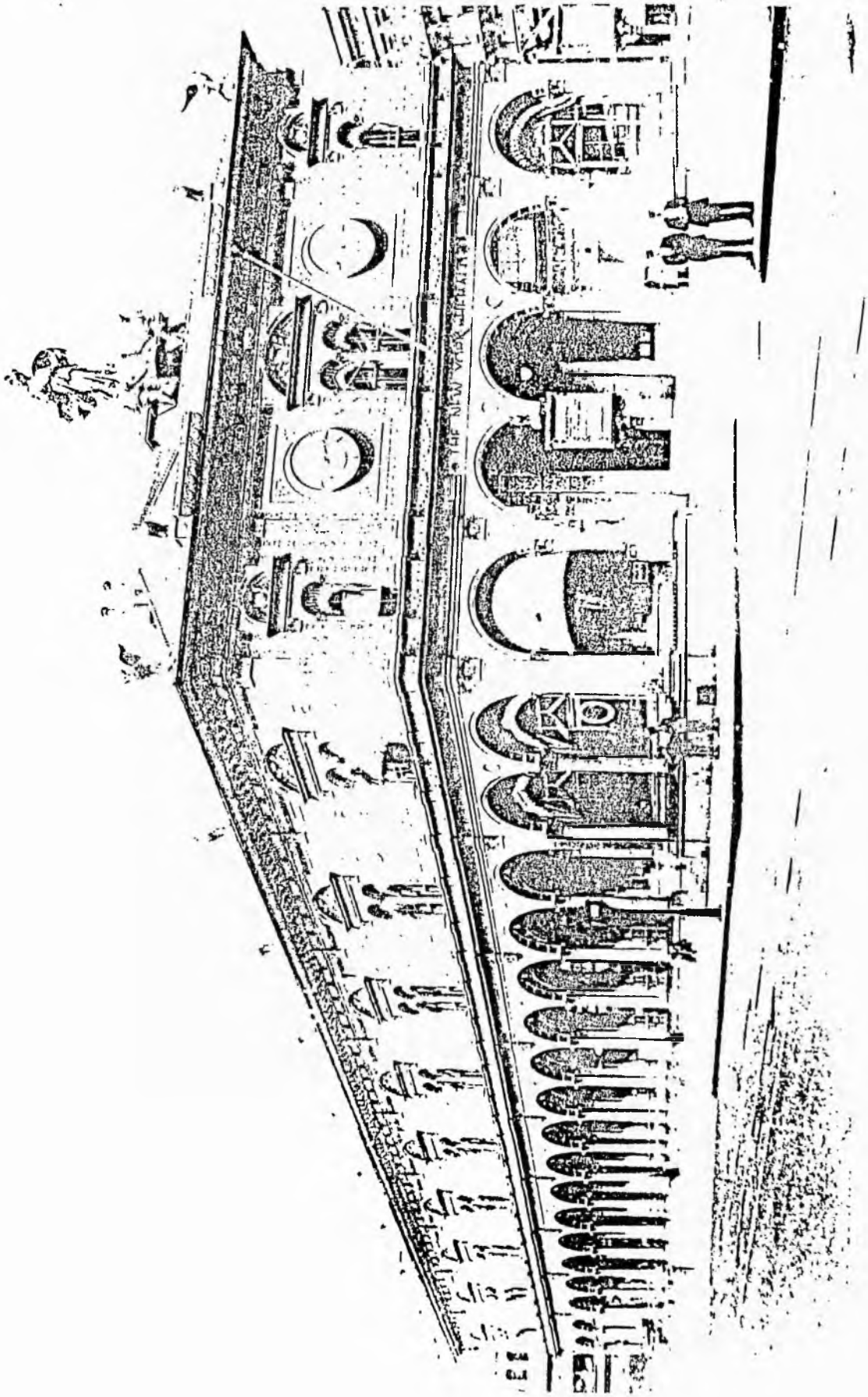
65. Tiffany Building, N.Y., 1903-6 (M pl.261)



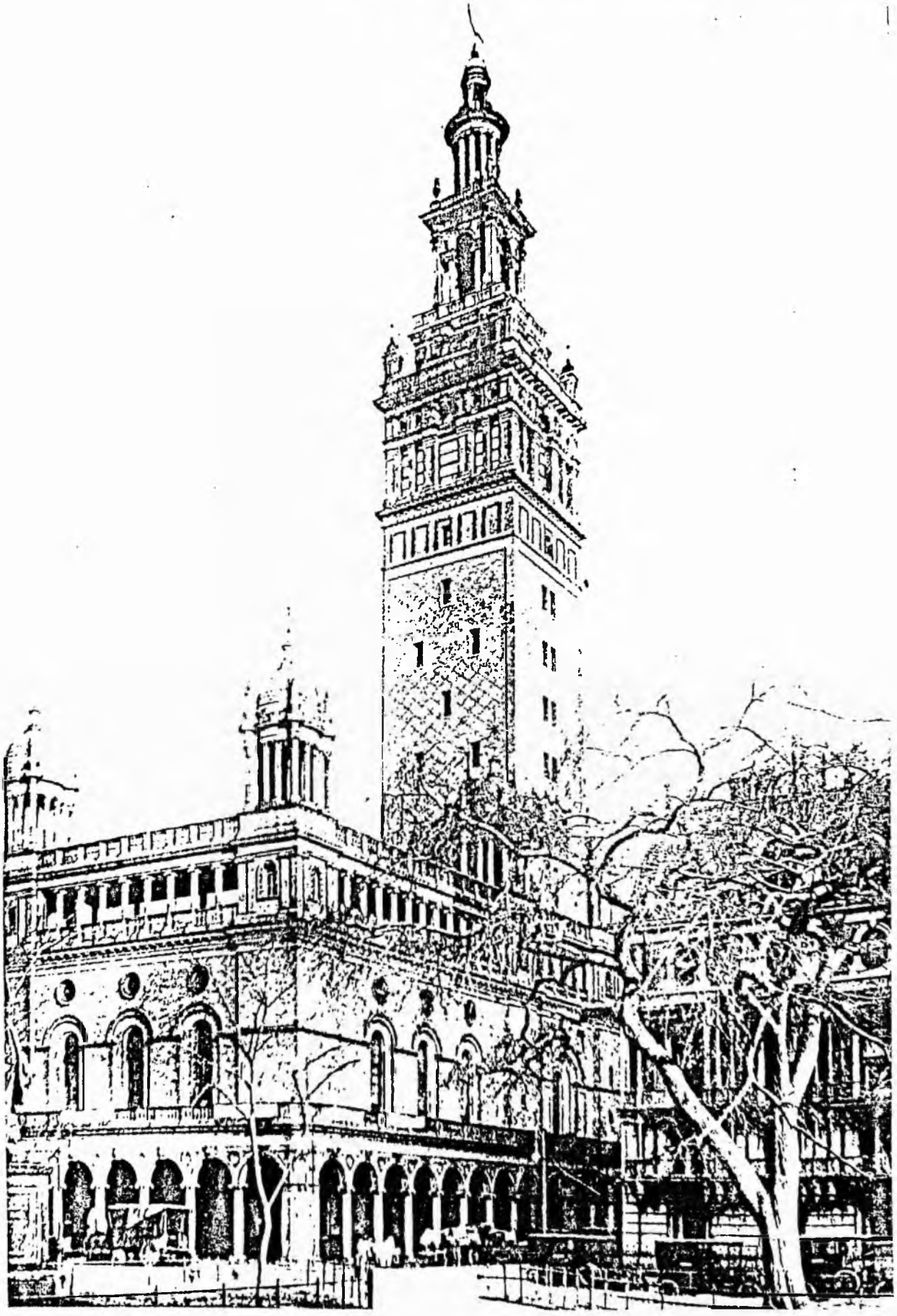
66. Joseph Pulitzer House, N.Y., 1900-1903 (M pl.181)



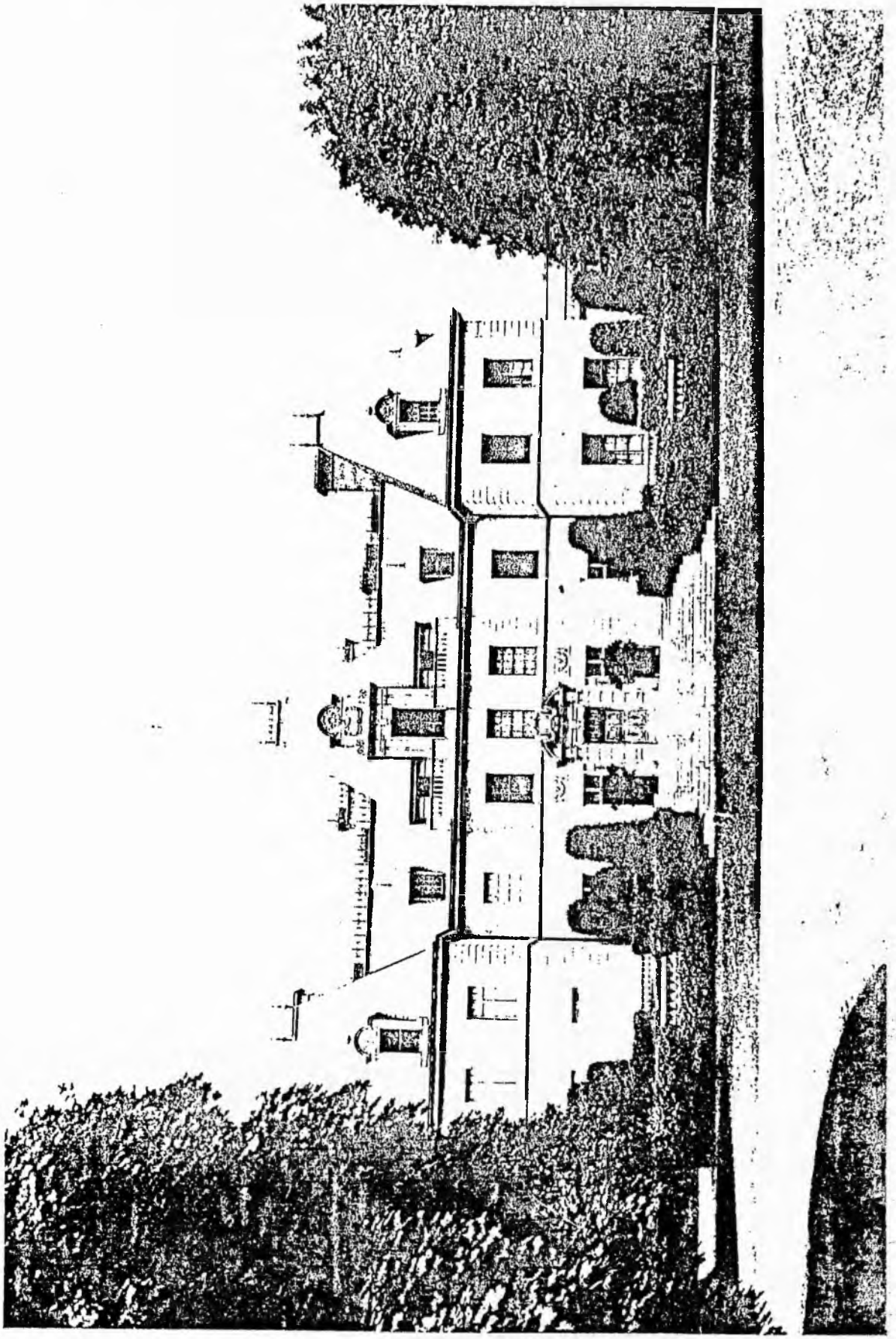
67. Century Club, N.Y., 1889-91 (M pl.27)



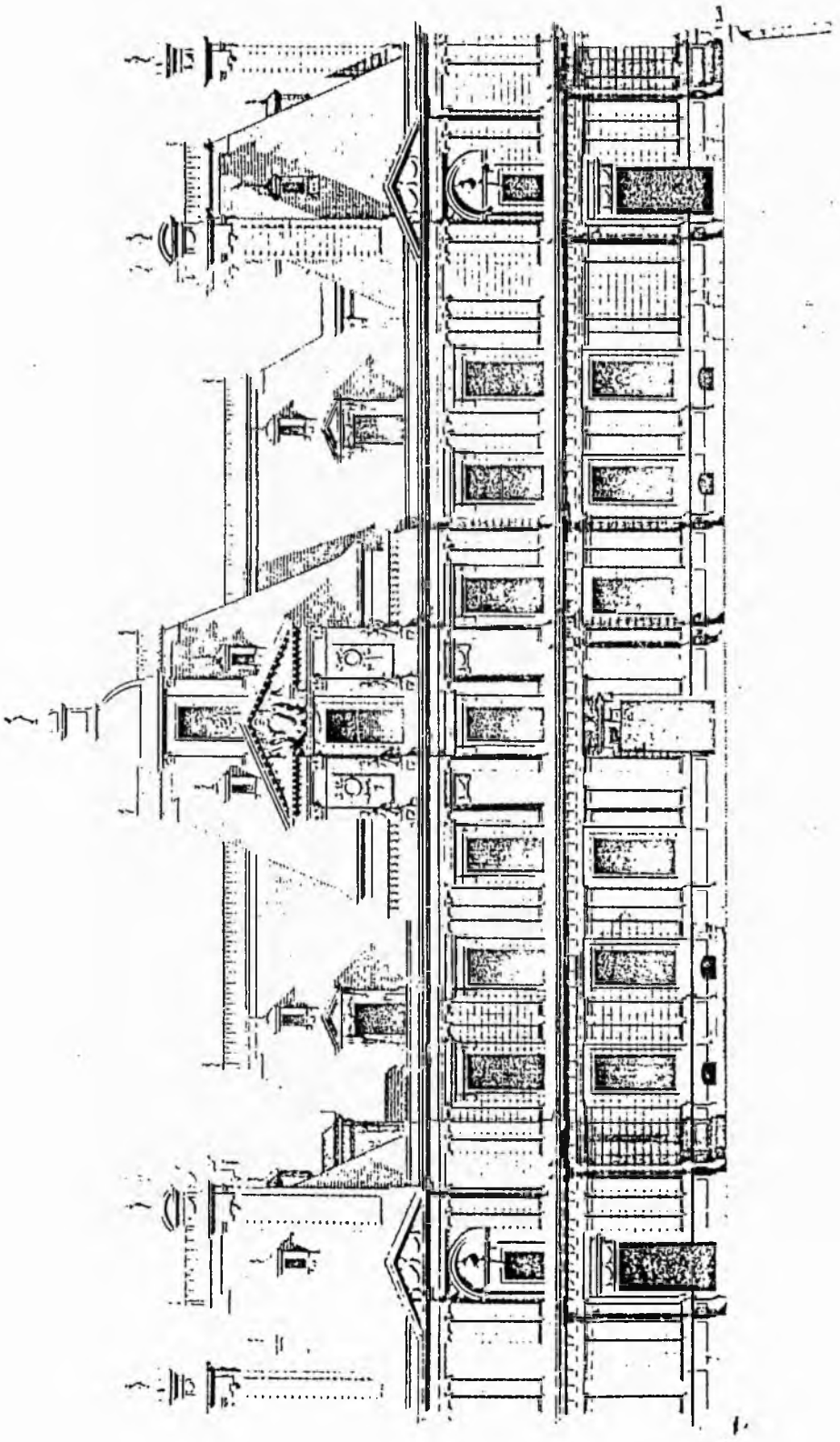
68. New York Herald Building, N.Y., 1892-95 (M pl.64)



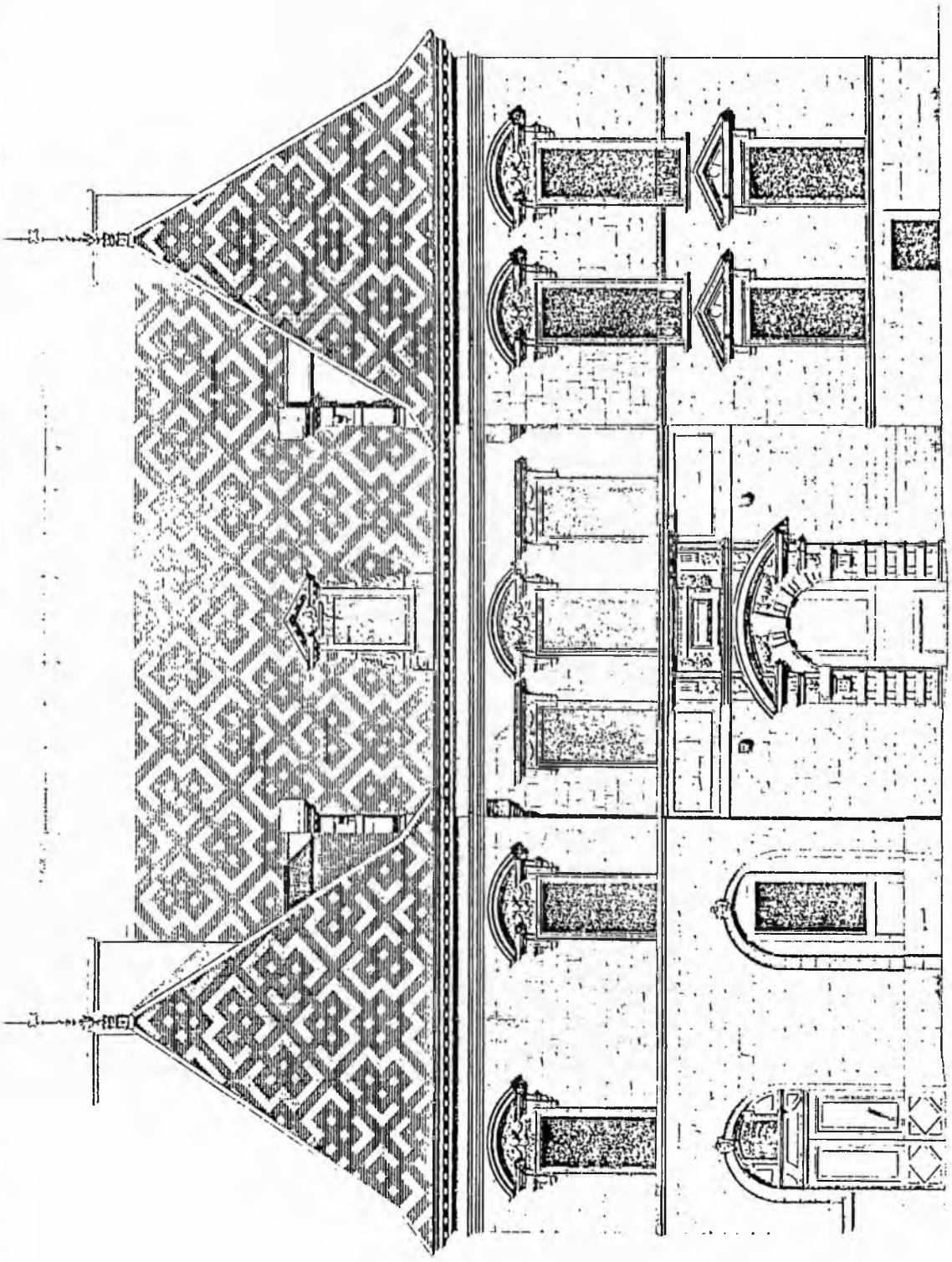
69. Madison Square Garden, N.Y., 1887-91 (M pl.32).



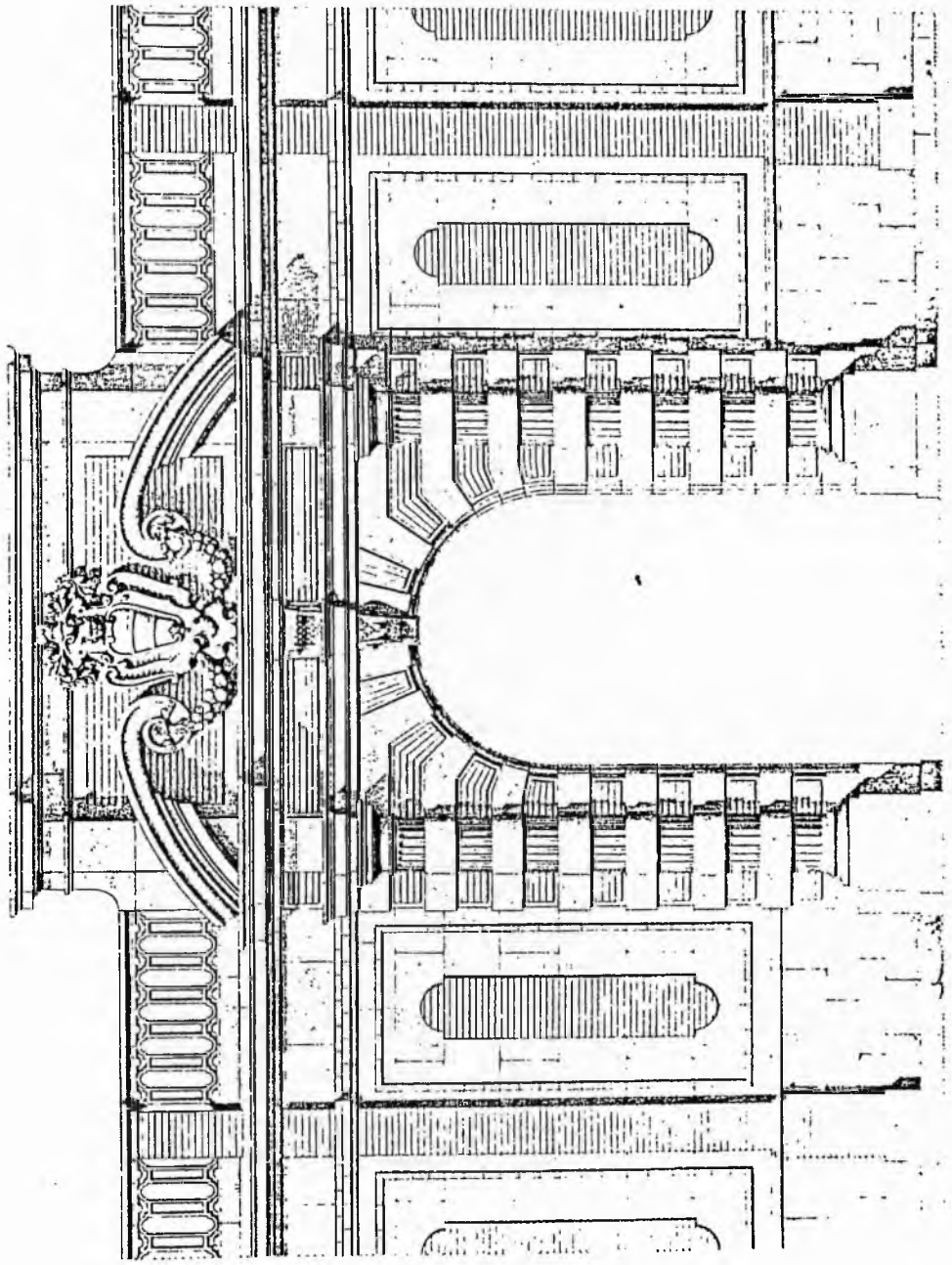
70. Mackay Residence, Harbor Hill, Roslyn, L.I., 1899-1906 (M pl.166).



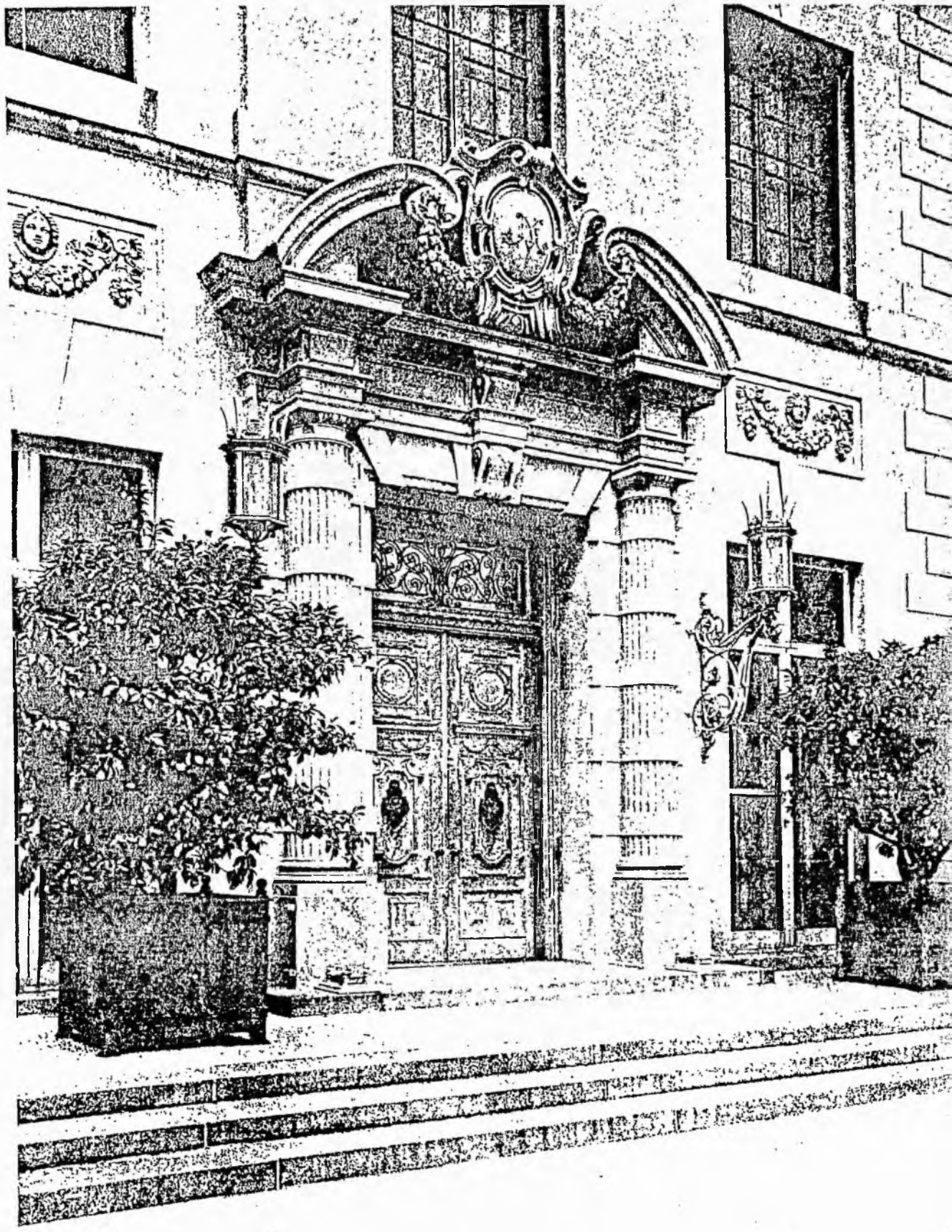
71. "Château de Maisons-sur-Seine, Elèvation sur la Cour." From Claude Sauvageot, Palais, Châteaux, Hôtels et Maisons de France du XV au XVlll Siècle, Paris, vol.2, pl.3



72. "Hôtel de Vogué à Dijon, Façade sur la rue Notre-Dame" From Claude Sauvageot, Pálais, Châteaux, Hôtels et Maisons, vol.1, pl.2

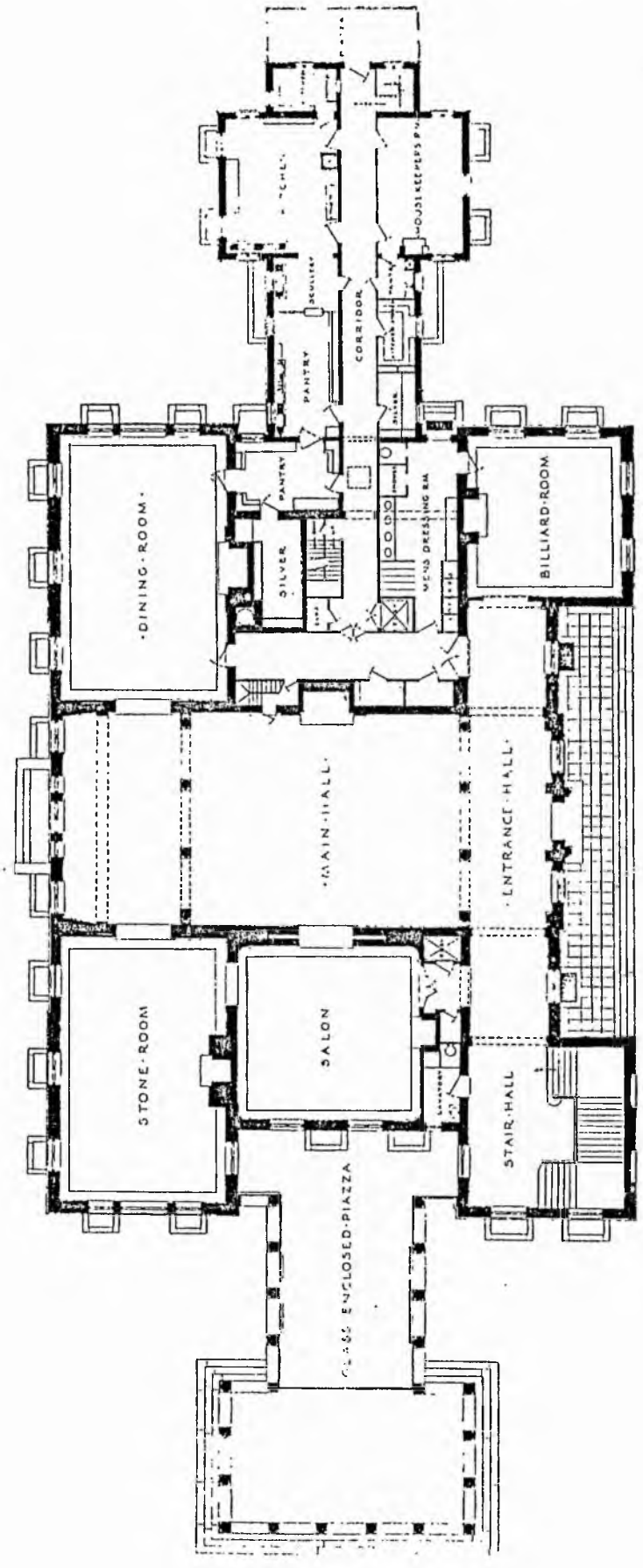


73. "Ancien Hôtel de Montescot à Chartres, Entrée de l'Hôtel." From Claude Sauvageot, Palais, Chateaux, Hôtels et Maisons, vol.2, pl.3

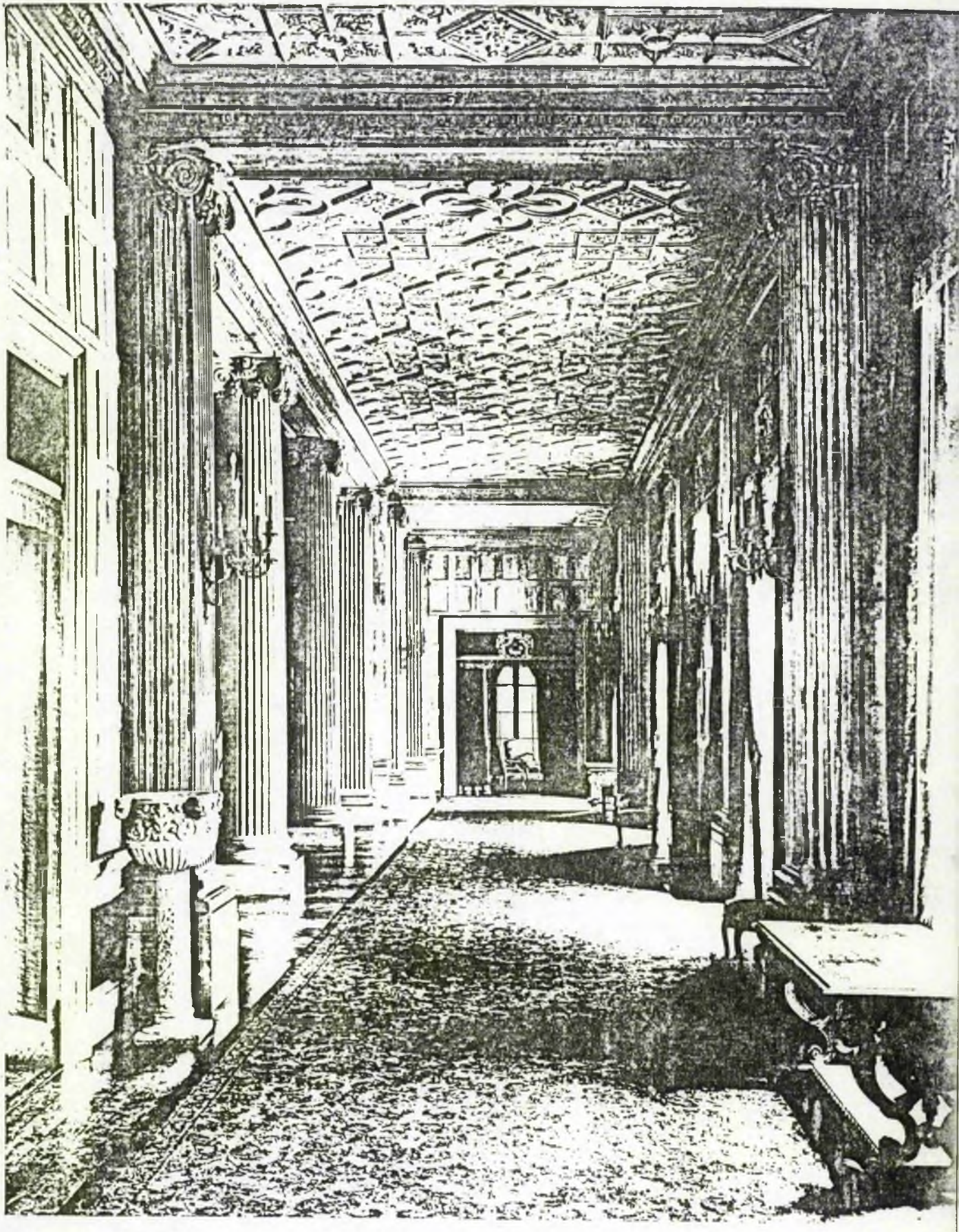


74. Mackay Residence, Harbor Hill, Roslyn, L.I., Main entrance (M.pl.166)

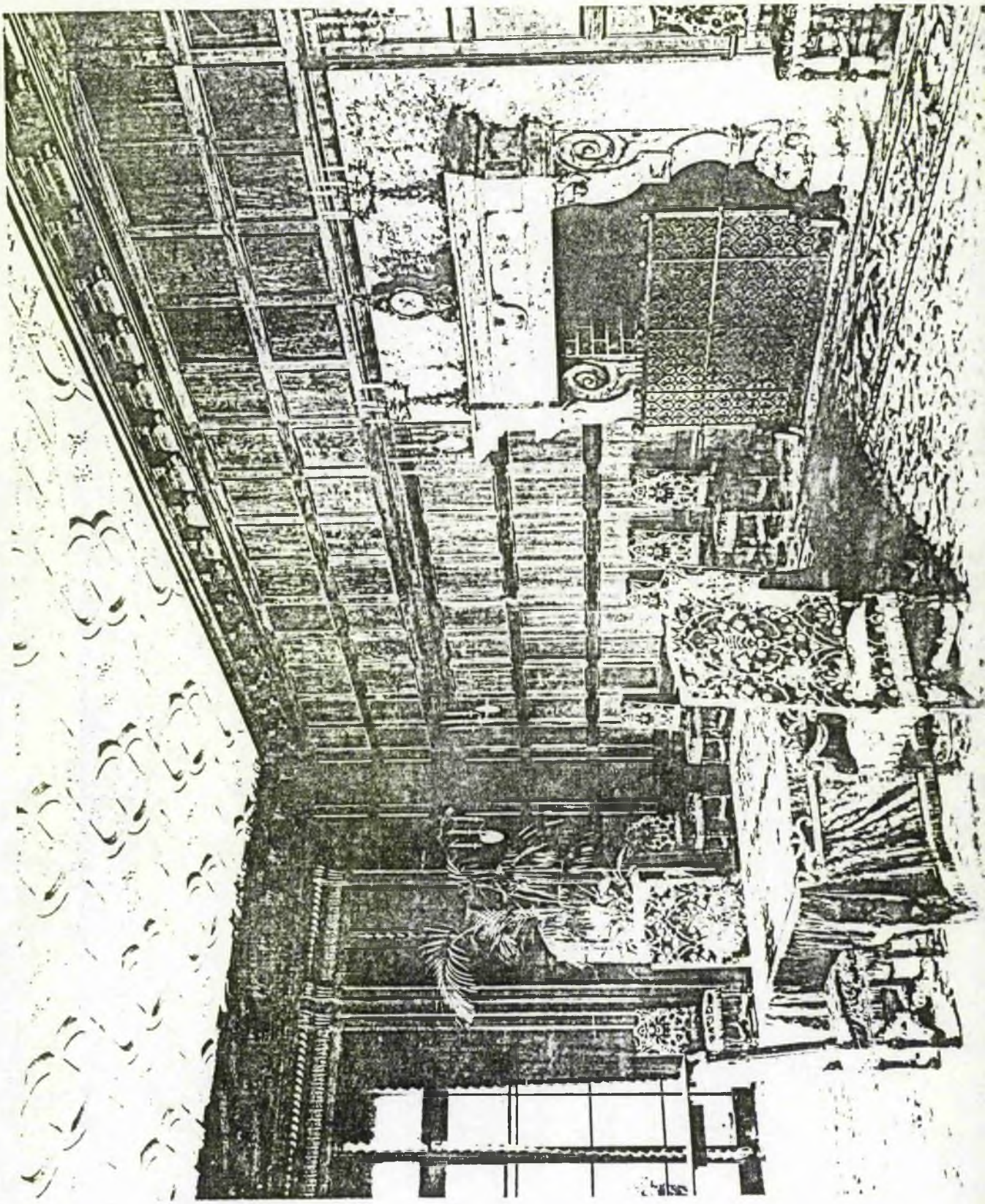
75. Mackay Residence, Harbor Hill, Roslyn, L.I., lodge (W)



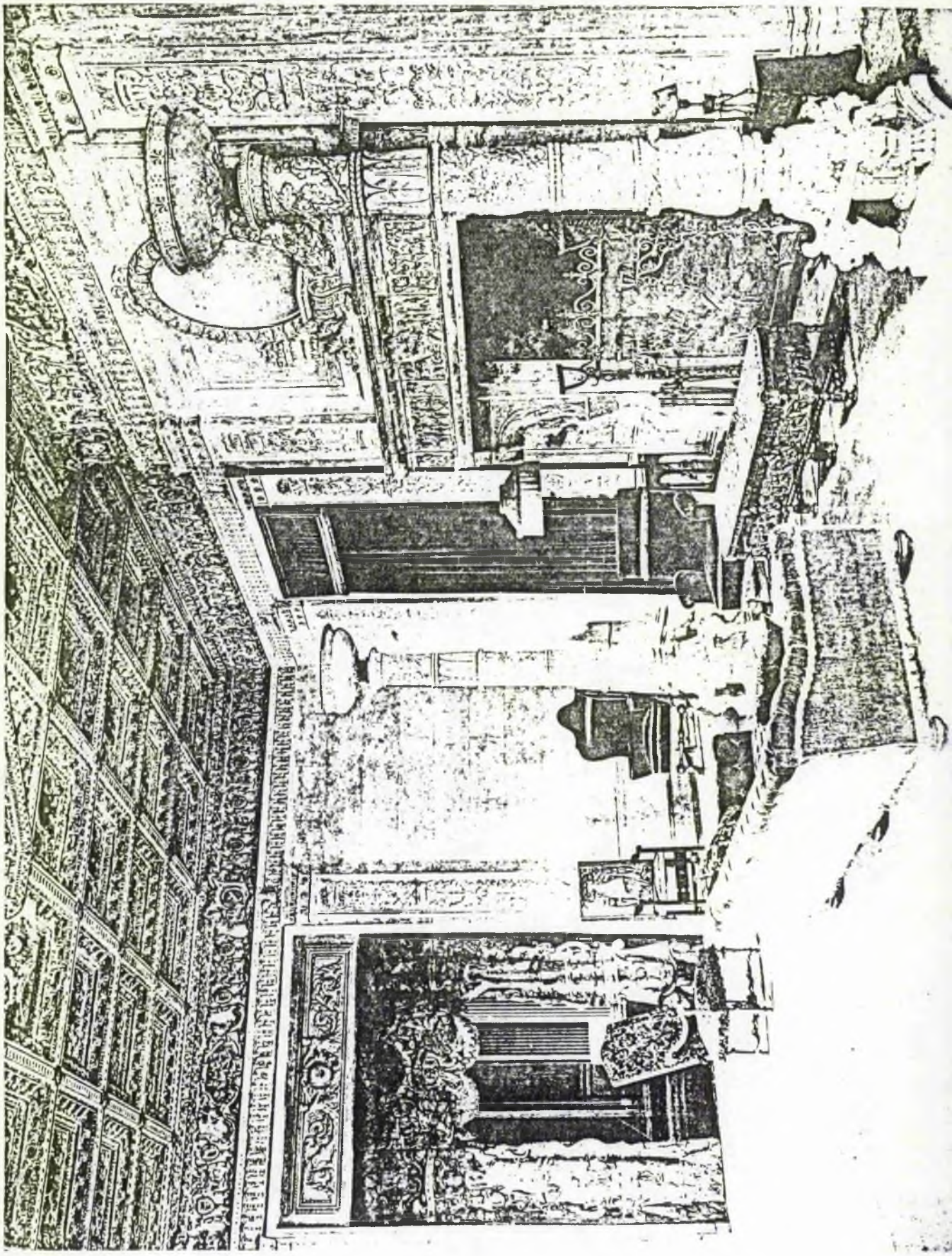
76. Mackay Residence, Harbor Hill, Roslyn, L.I., ground floor plan (M pl.169).



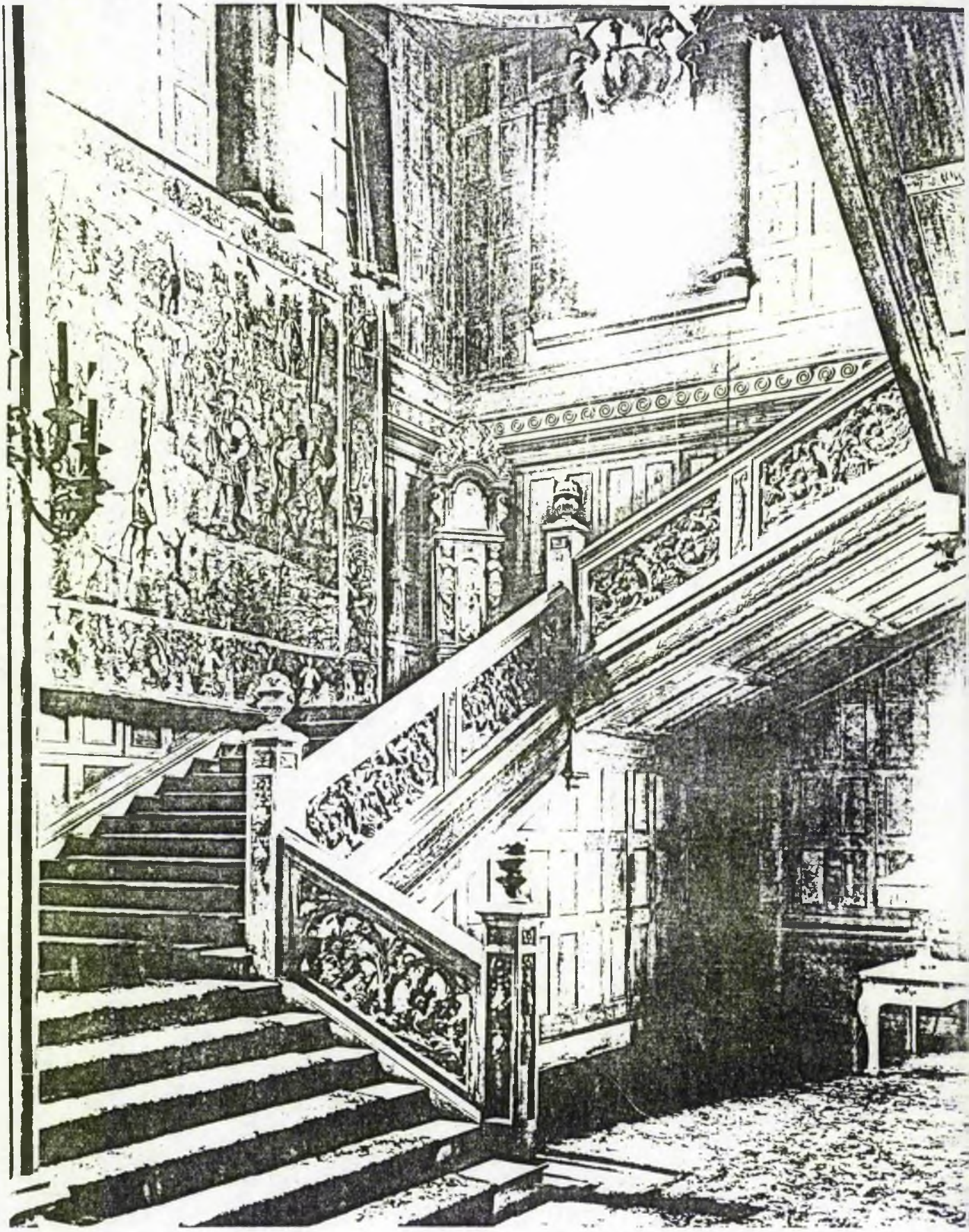
77. Mackay Residence, Harbor Hill, Roslyn, L.I., Main hall (Bryant Library, Roslyn, L.I.).



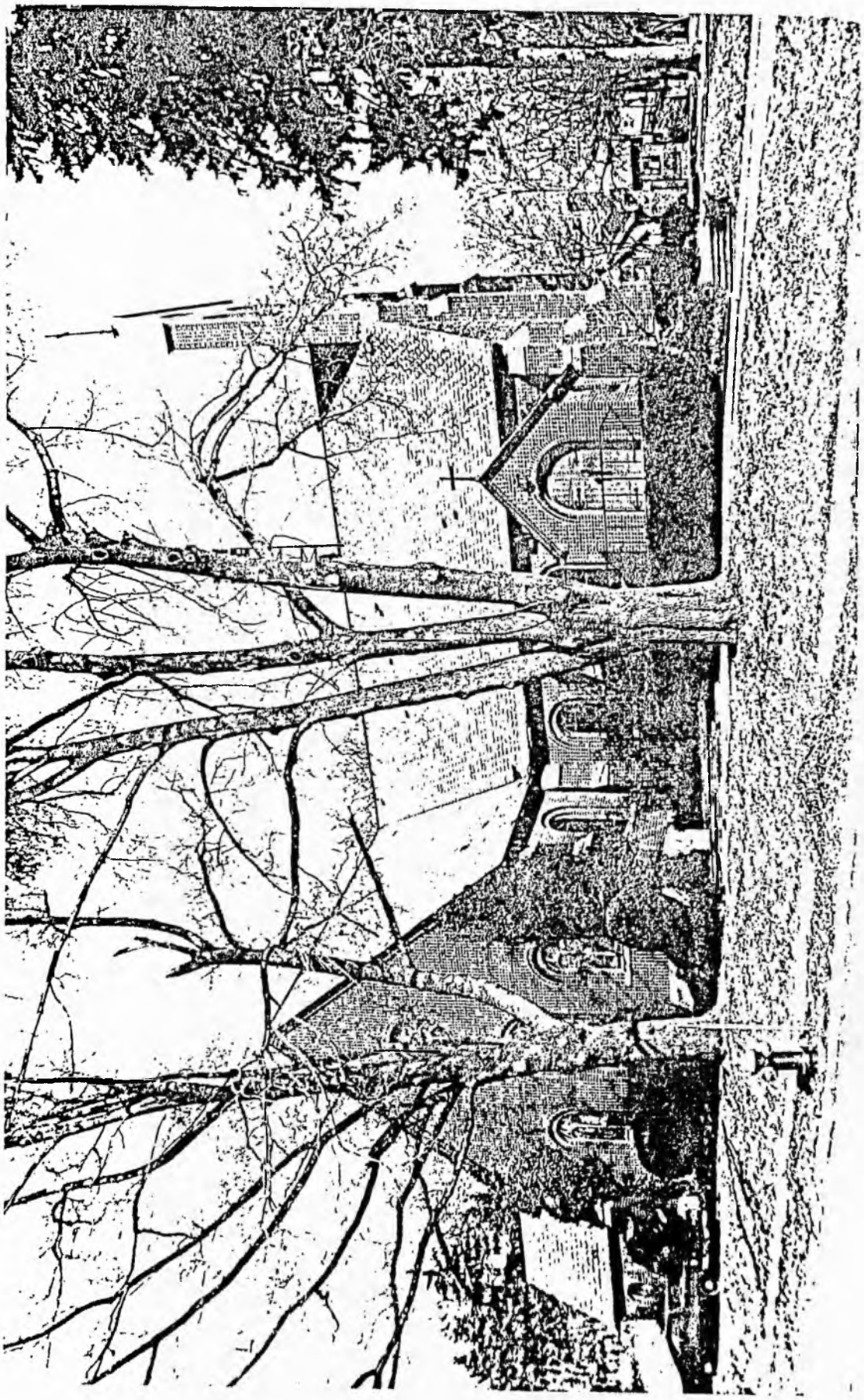
78. Mackay Residence, Harbor Hill, Roslyn, L.I., dining room (M pl.167).



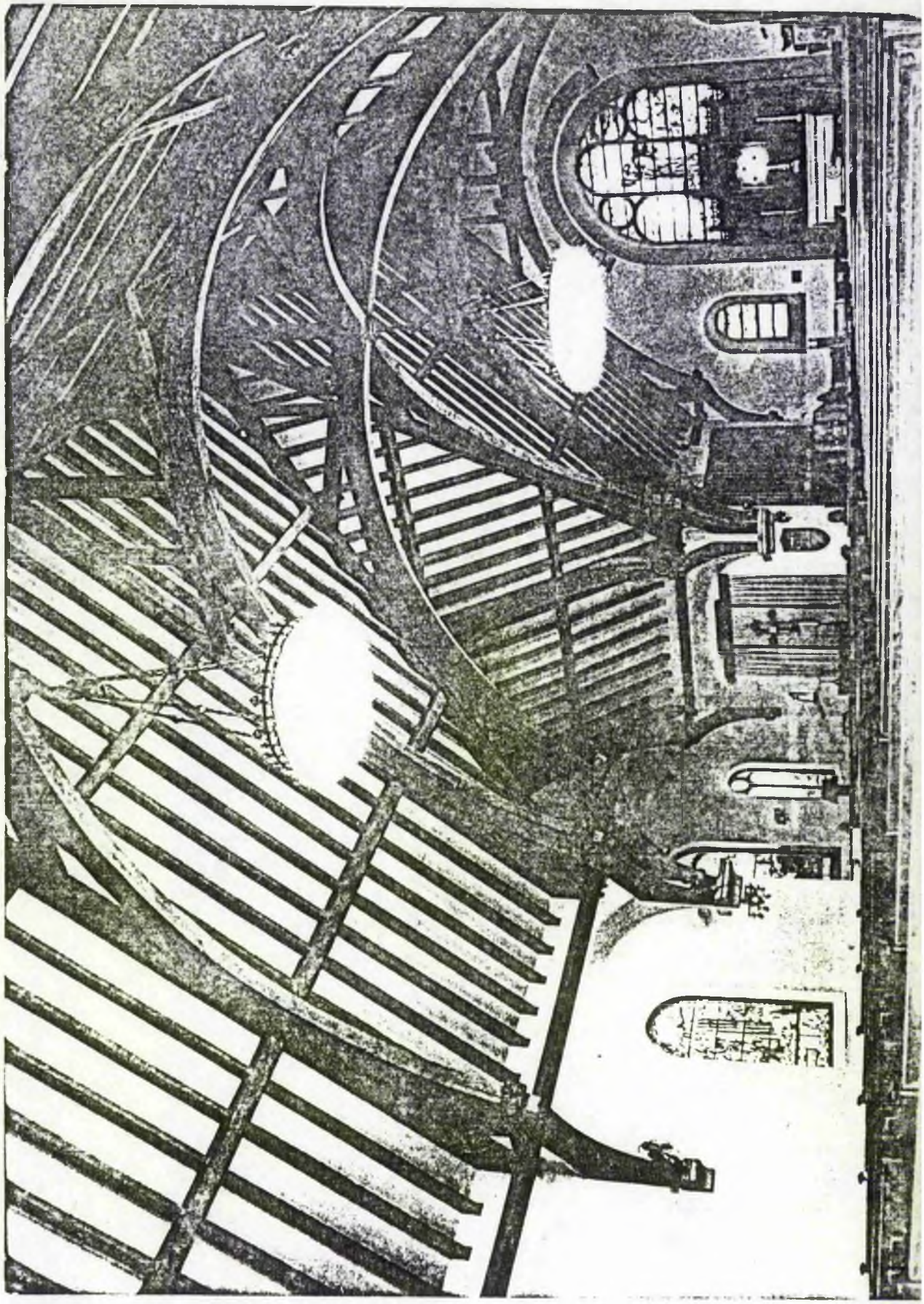
79. Mackay Residence, Harbor Hill, Roslyn, L.I., Stone Room (M pl.167).



80. Mackay Residence, Harbor Hill, Roslyn, L.I., staircase (M. pl.168).

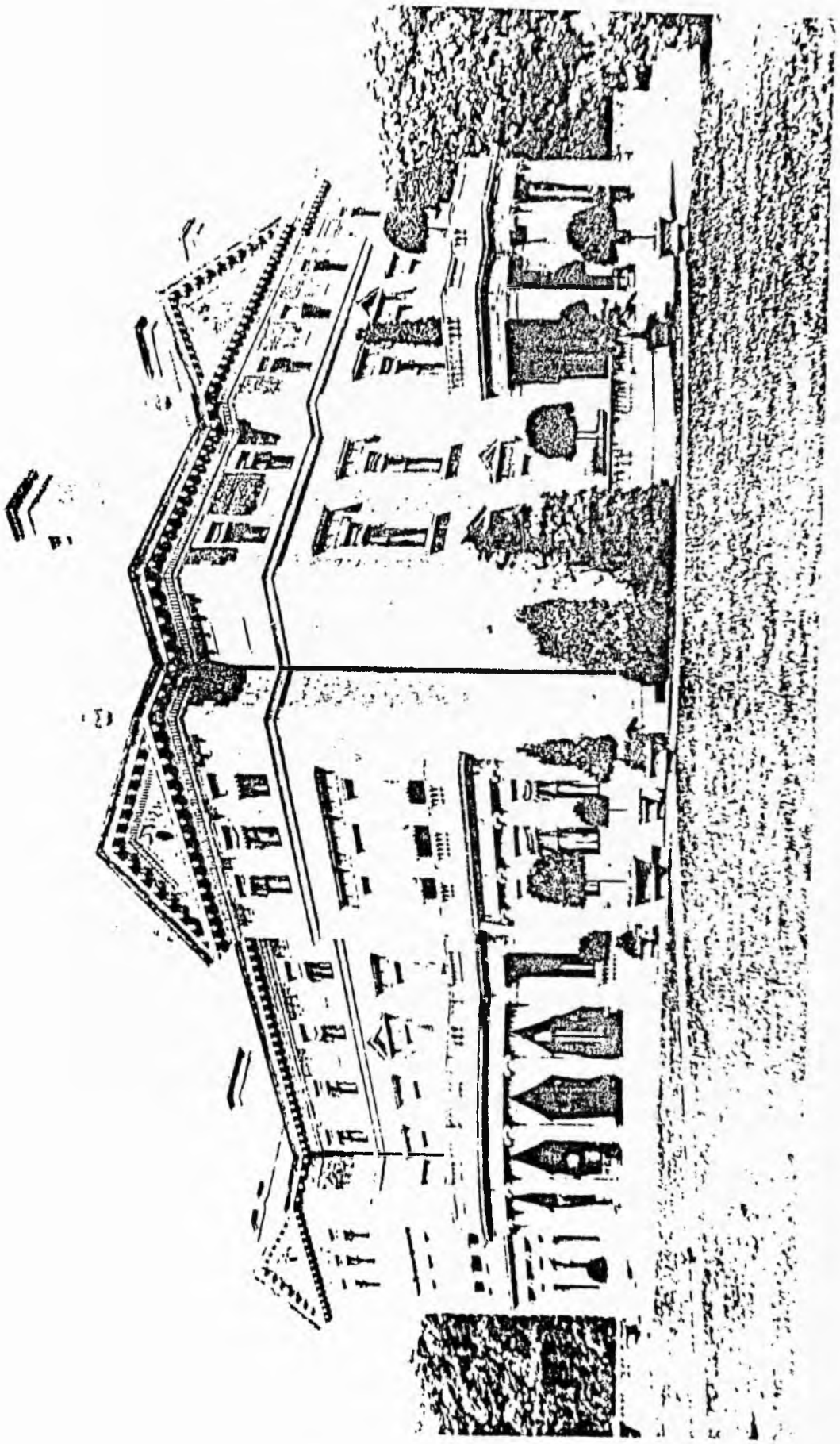


81. Trinity Church, Roslyn, L.I., 1905-7 (W)

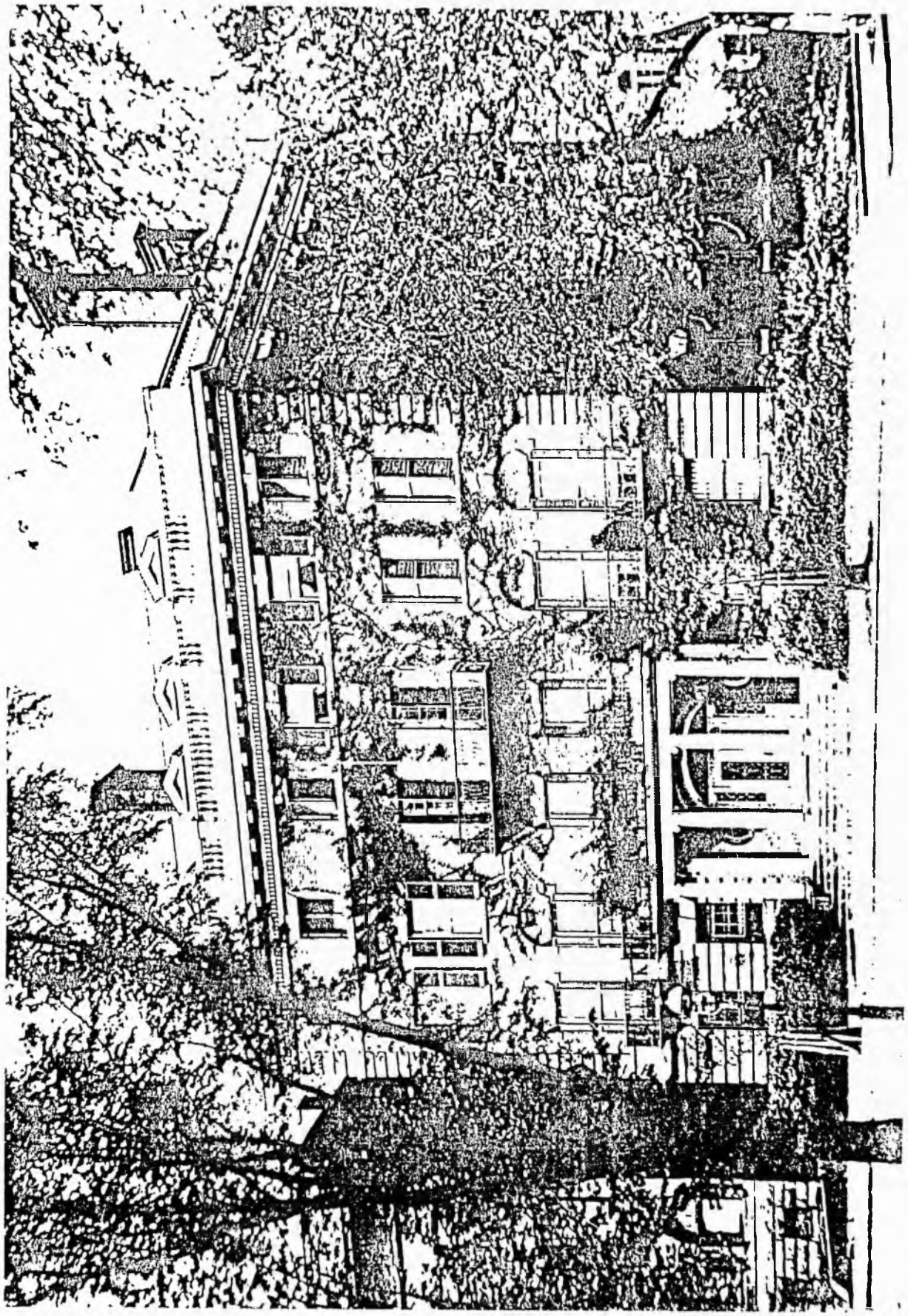


82. Trinity Church, Roslyn, L.I. interior (W).

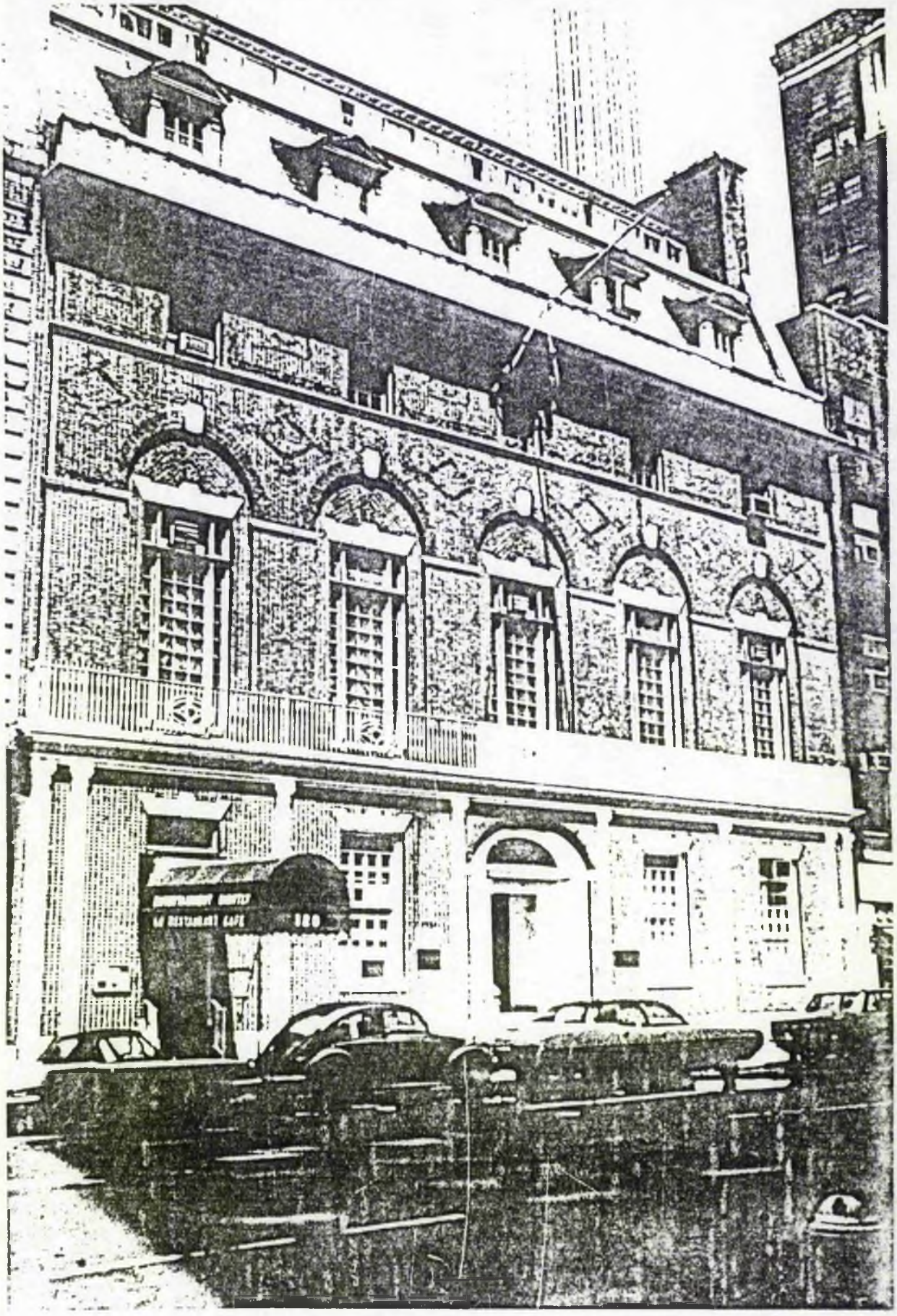
83. Mrs. William K. Vanderbilt, Jr., house, N.Y., 1904-7 (M pl.259).



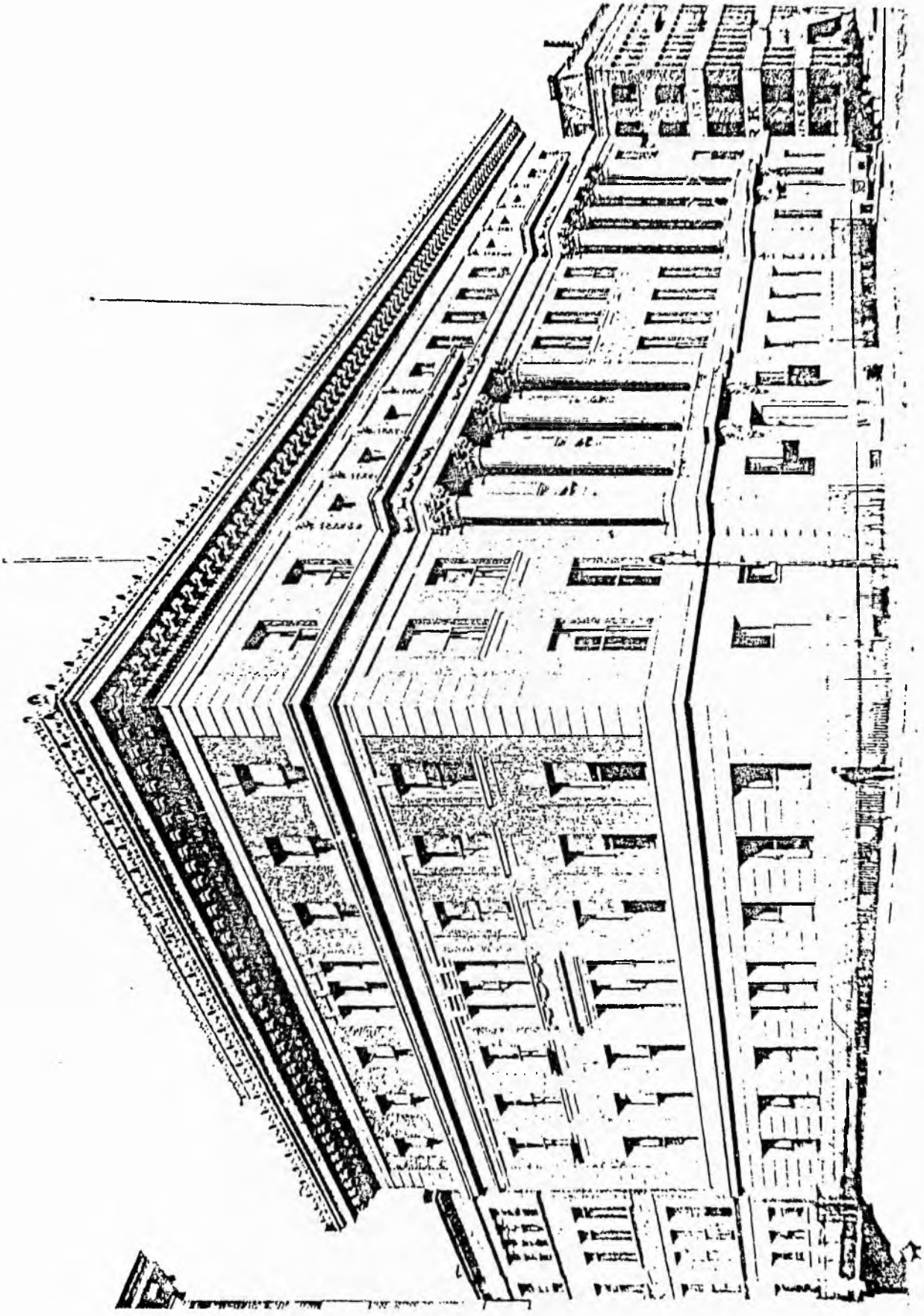
84. Mrs. Elliott F. Shepard house, Scarborough, N.Y., 1890-95 (M pl.70).



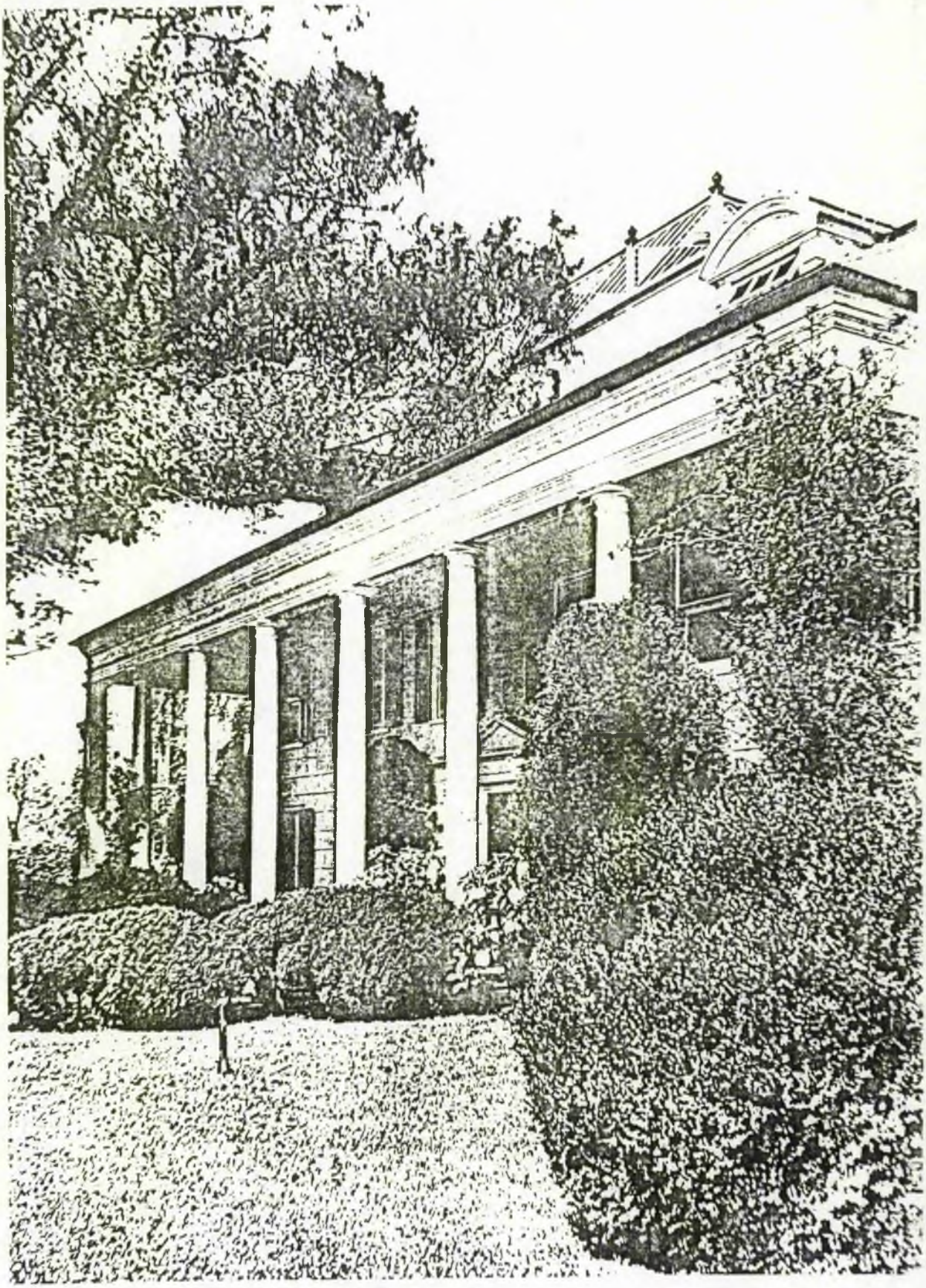
85. Thomas Nelson Page house, Washington, D.C., 1896-97 (M pl.95).



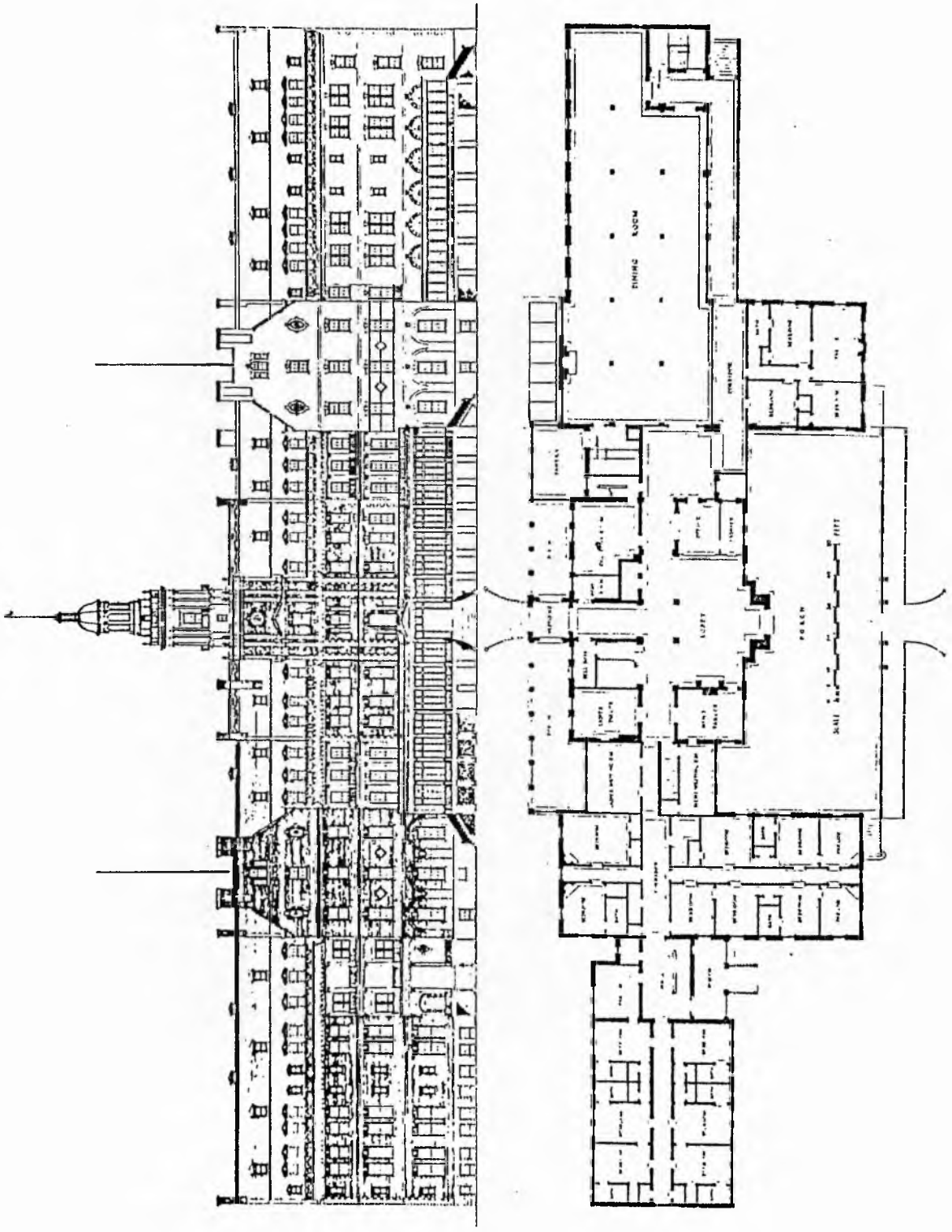
86 . Colony Club, N.Y., 1906 (W).



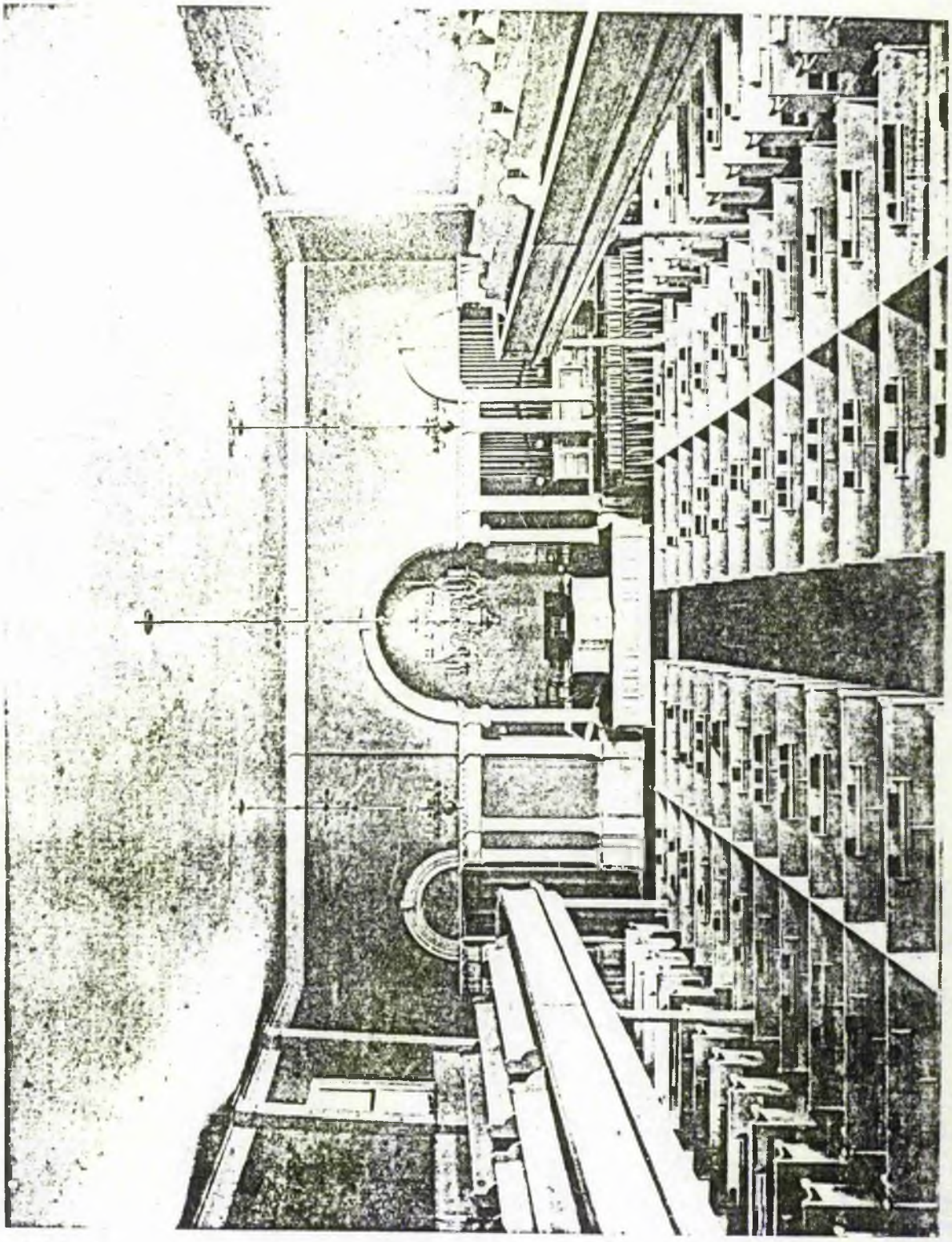
87. Cornell University Medical College, N.Y., 1898-1901 (M pl.157).



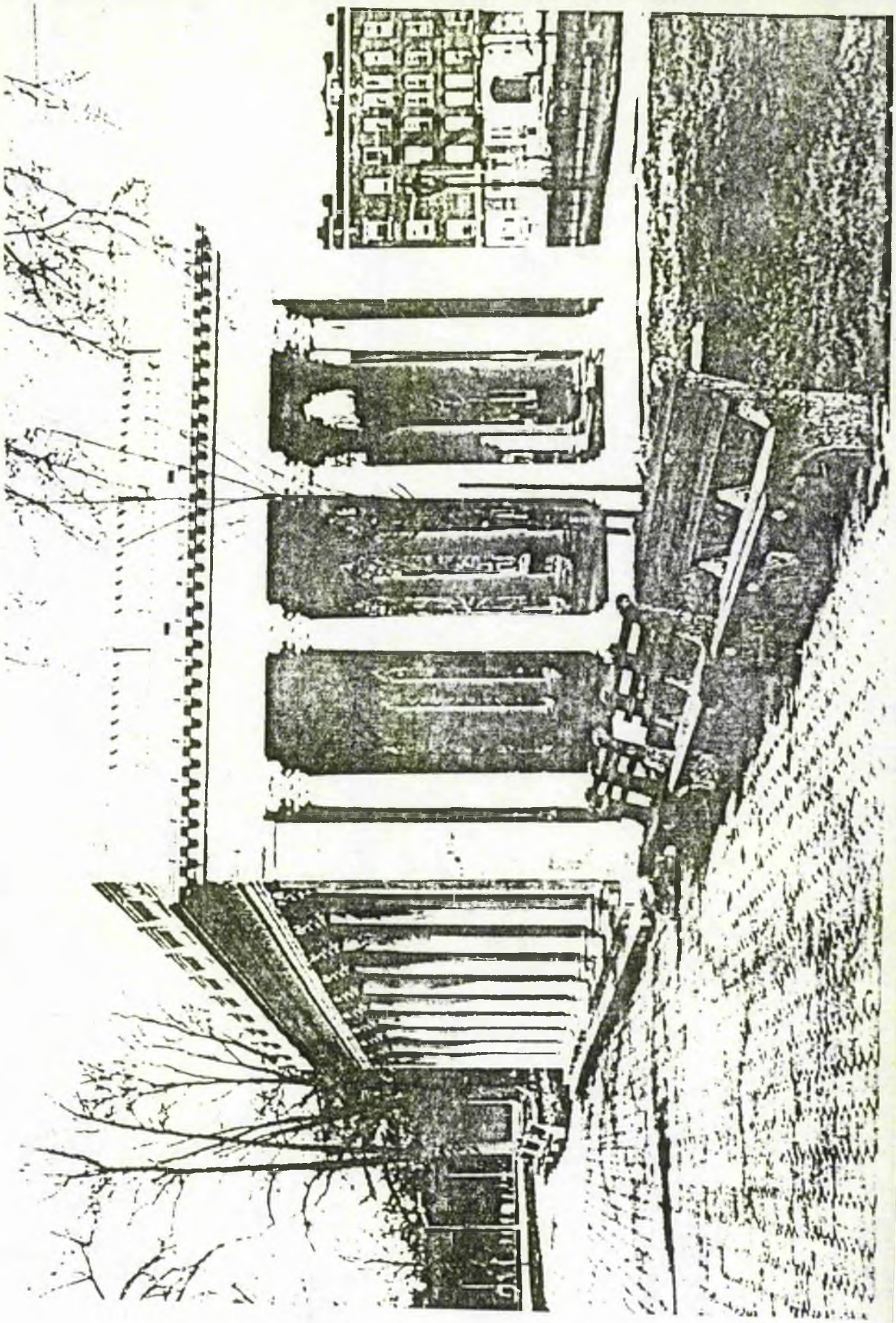
88. James L. Breese house, Southampton, L.I., 1898-1907 (M pl.271).



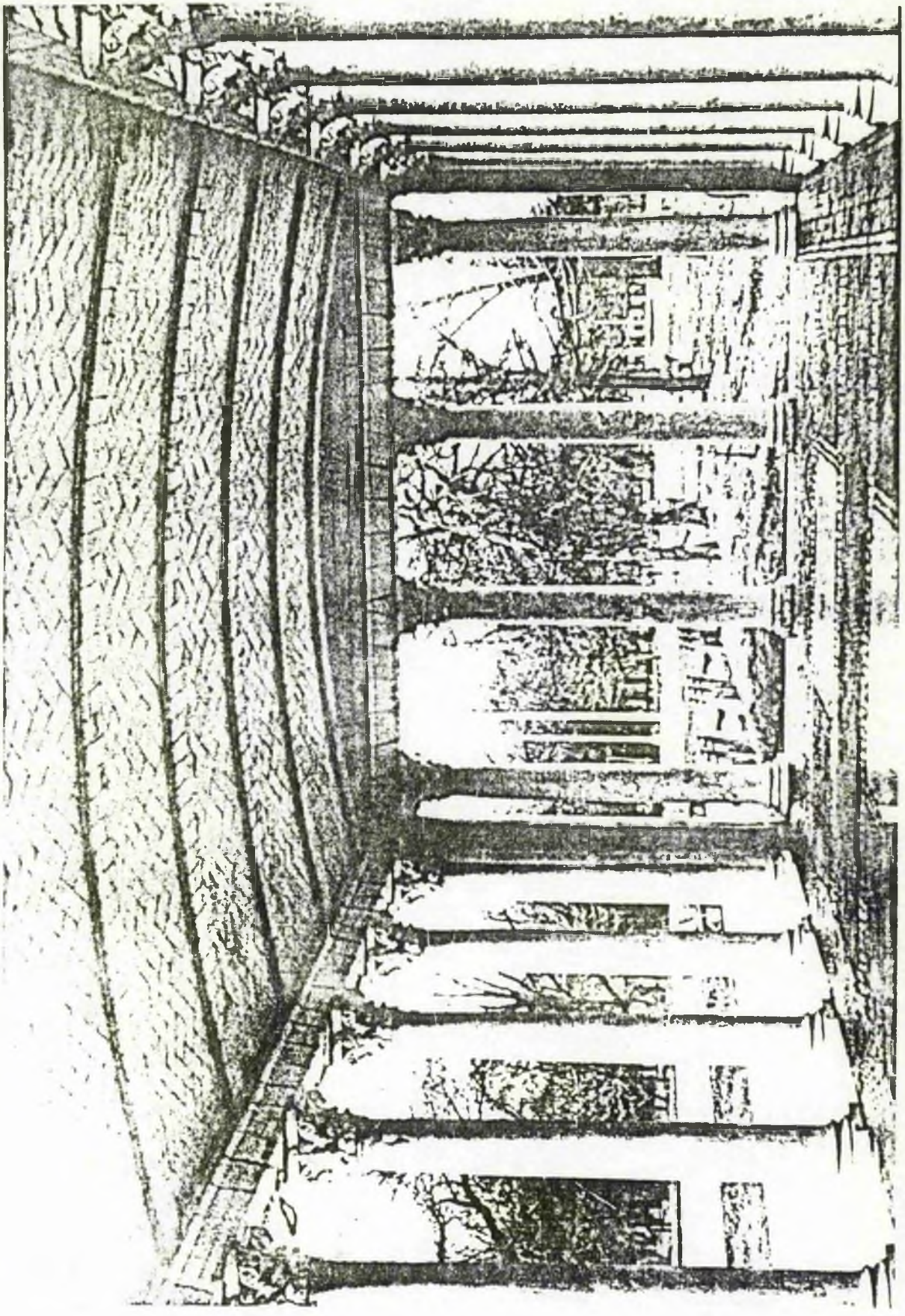
89. Garden City Hotel, Garden City, L.I., 1894-91 (M pl.72).



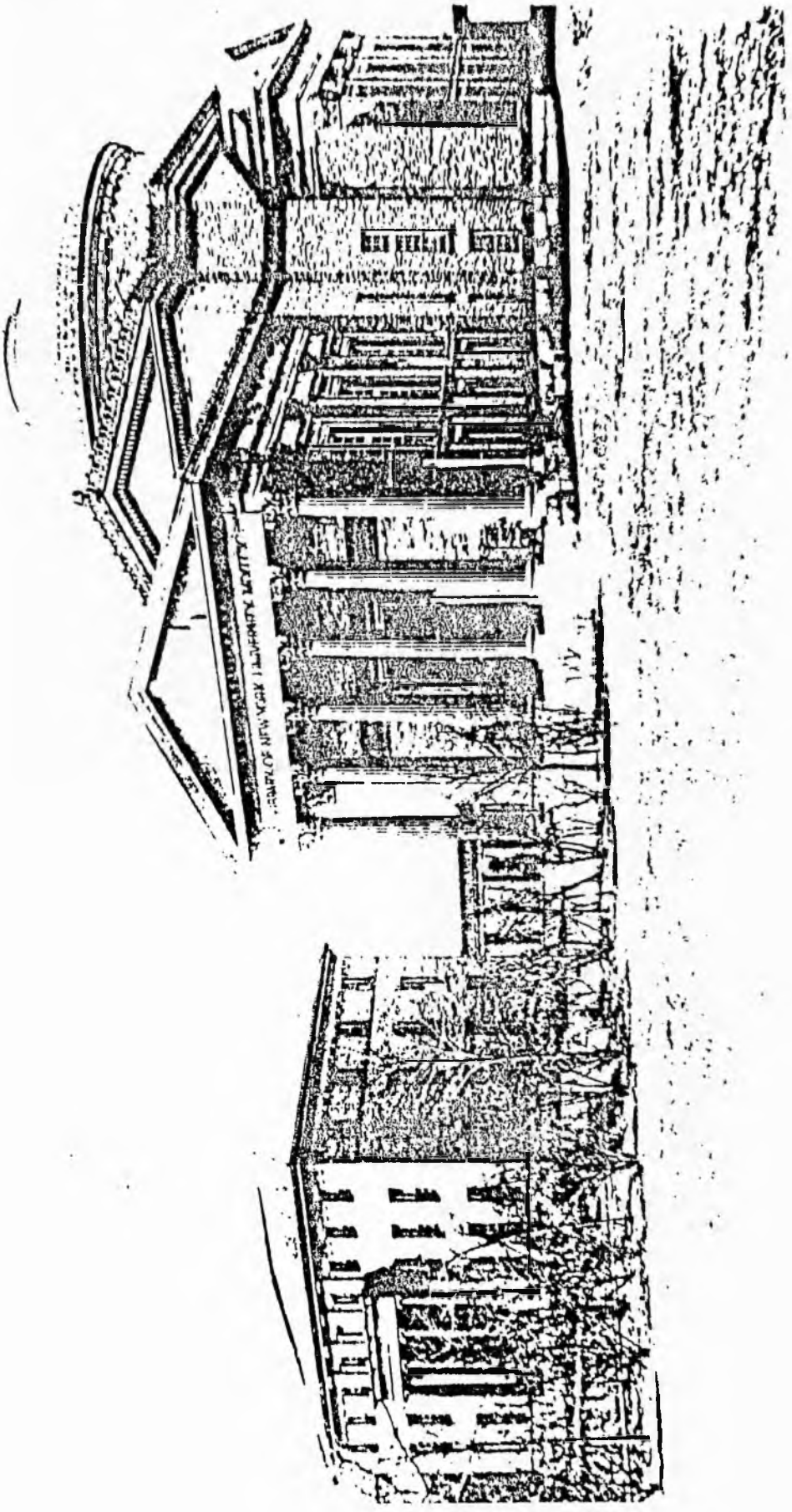
90. Church of Christ, Hanover, N.H., 1790, interior, 1899 (Dartmouth College Archives).



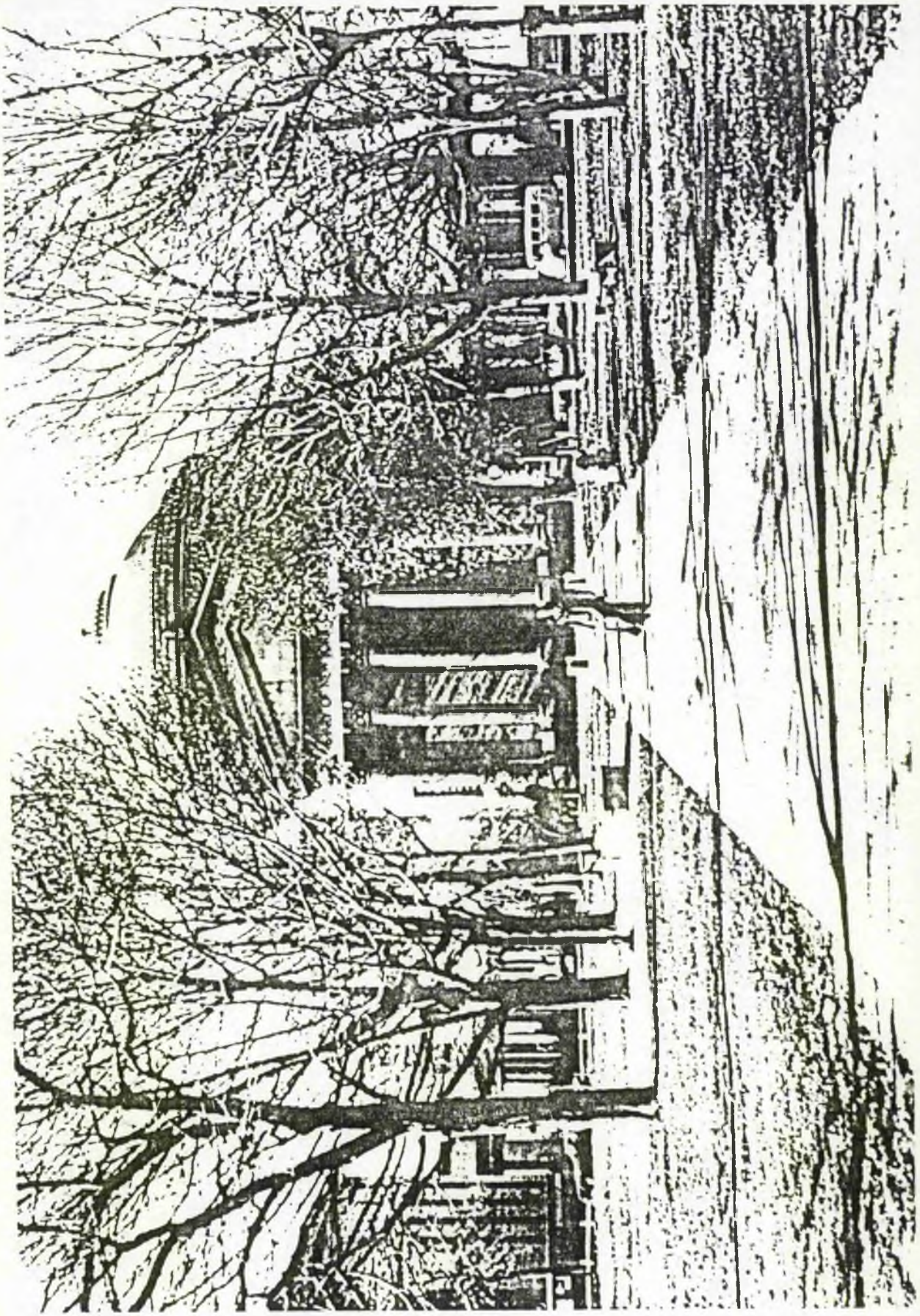
91. Prospect Park, Brooklyn, N.Y., Croquet Shelter, 1906 (W).



92. Prospect Park, Brooklyn, N.Y., Croquet Shelter, interior, 1906 (W).

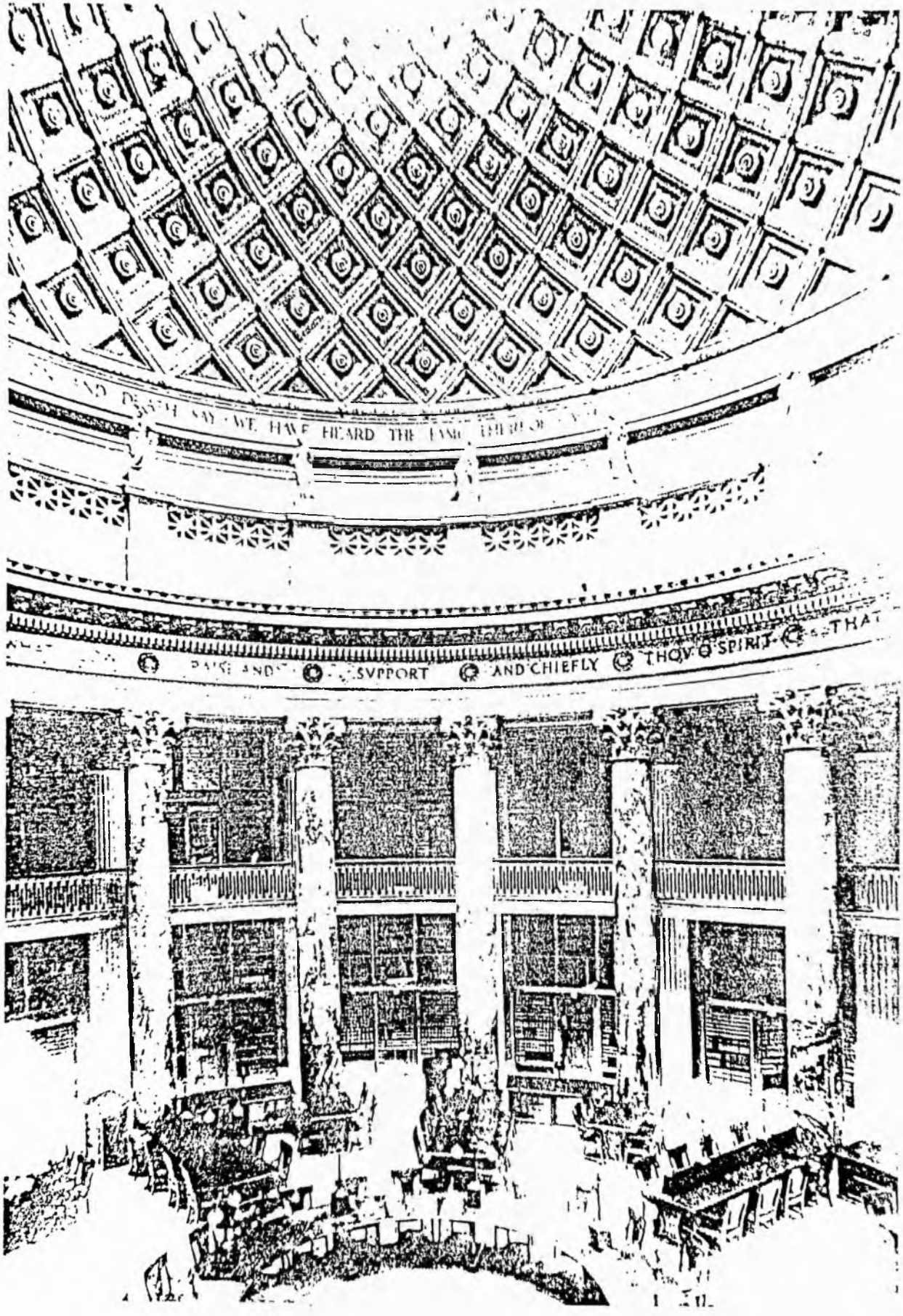


93. New York University, Bronx, N.Y., Hall of Languages (left) 1892-1903), Gould Library (right), 1892-1903 (M pl.76).

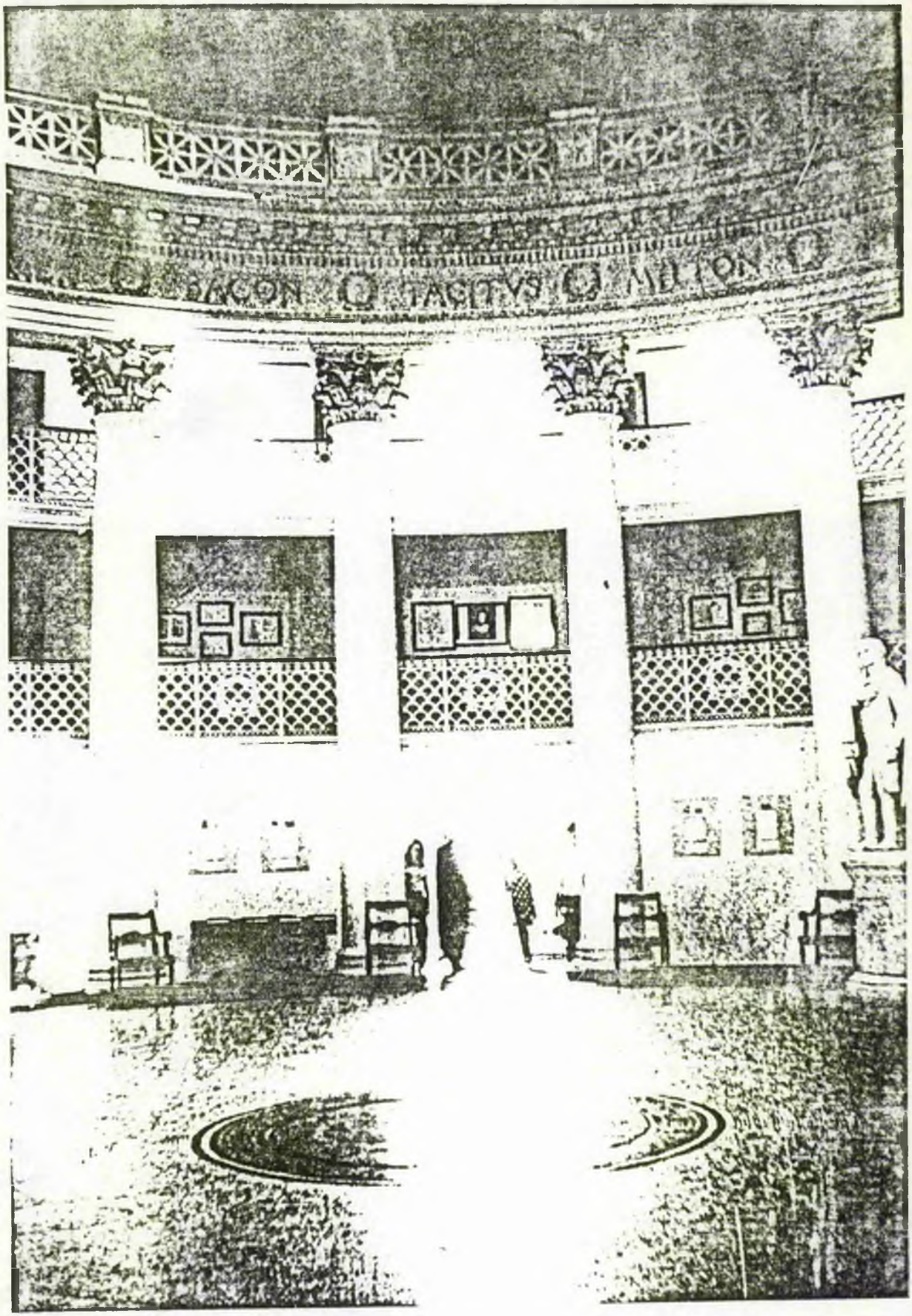


94. New York University, Bronx, N.Y., Gould Library (W).

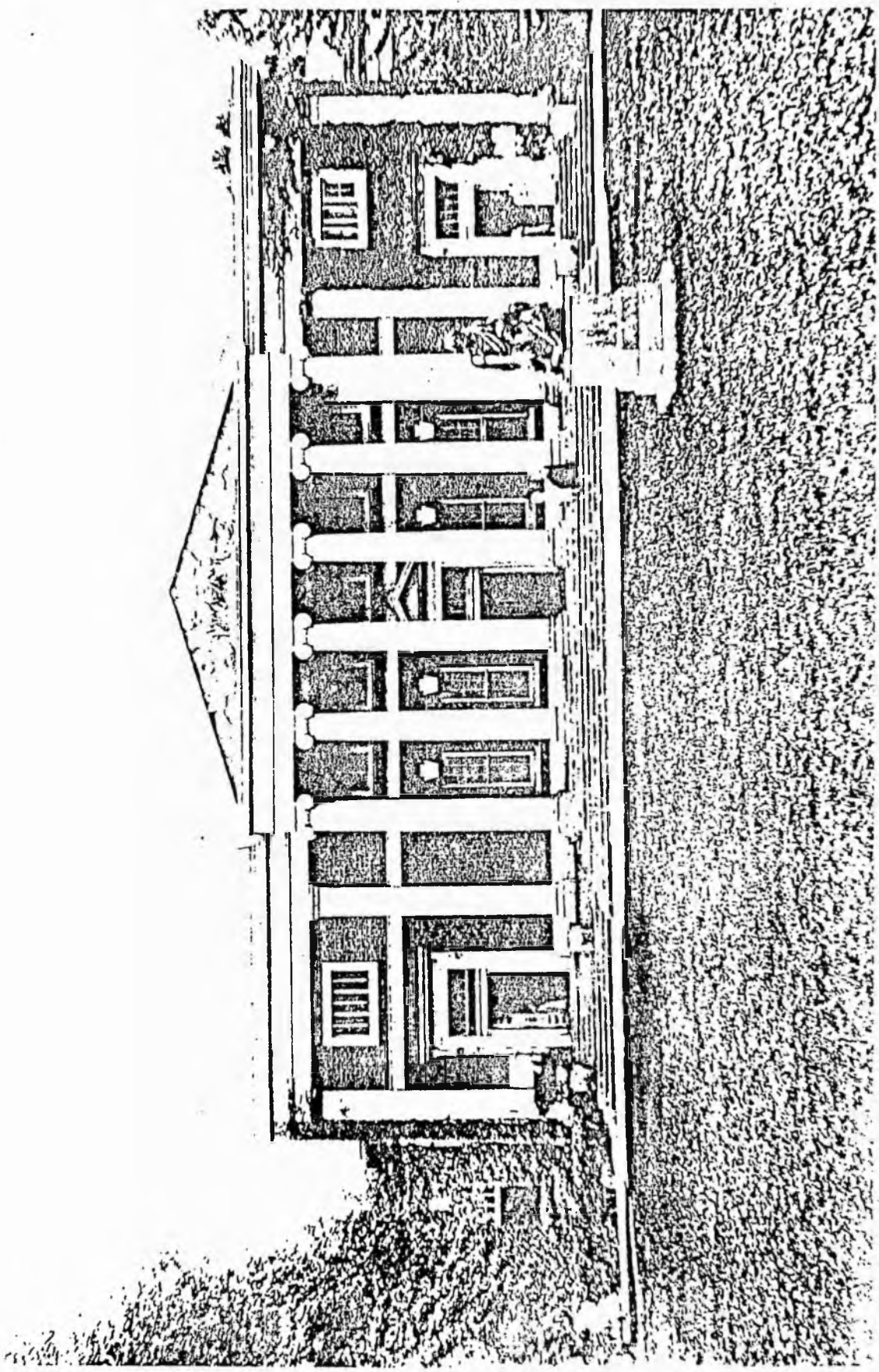
95. New York University, Bronx, N.Y., plan, 1892-1903 (M pl.74).



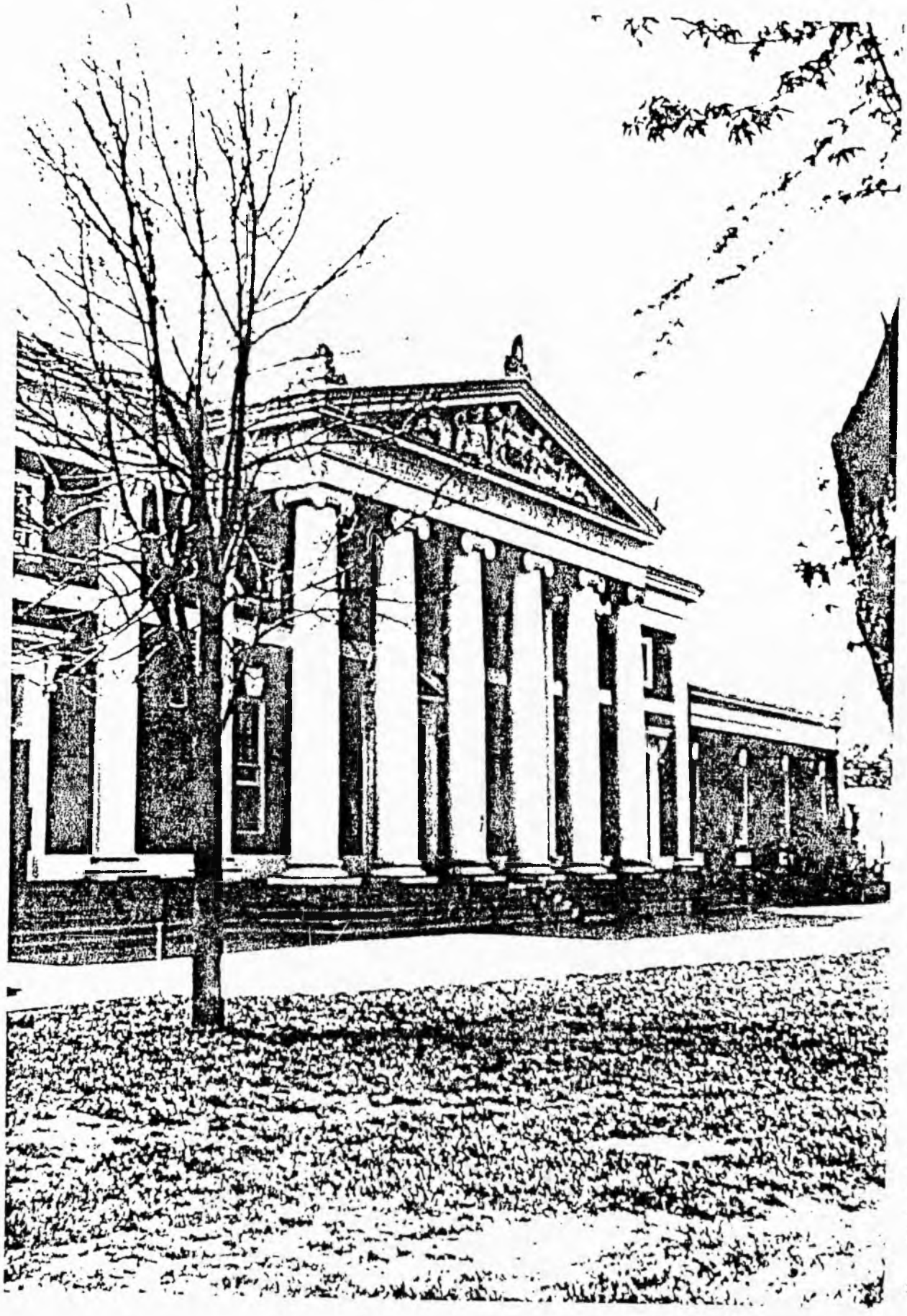
96. New York University, Bronx, N.Y., interior of Gould Library (M pl.77).



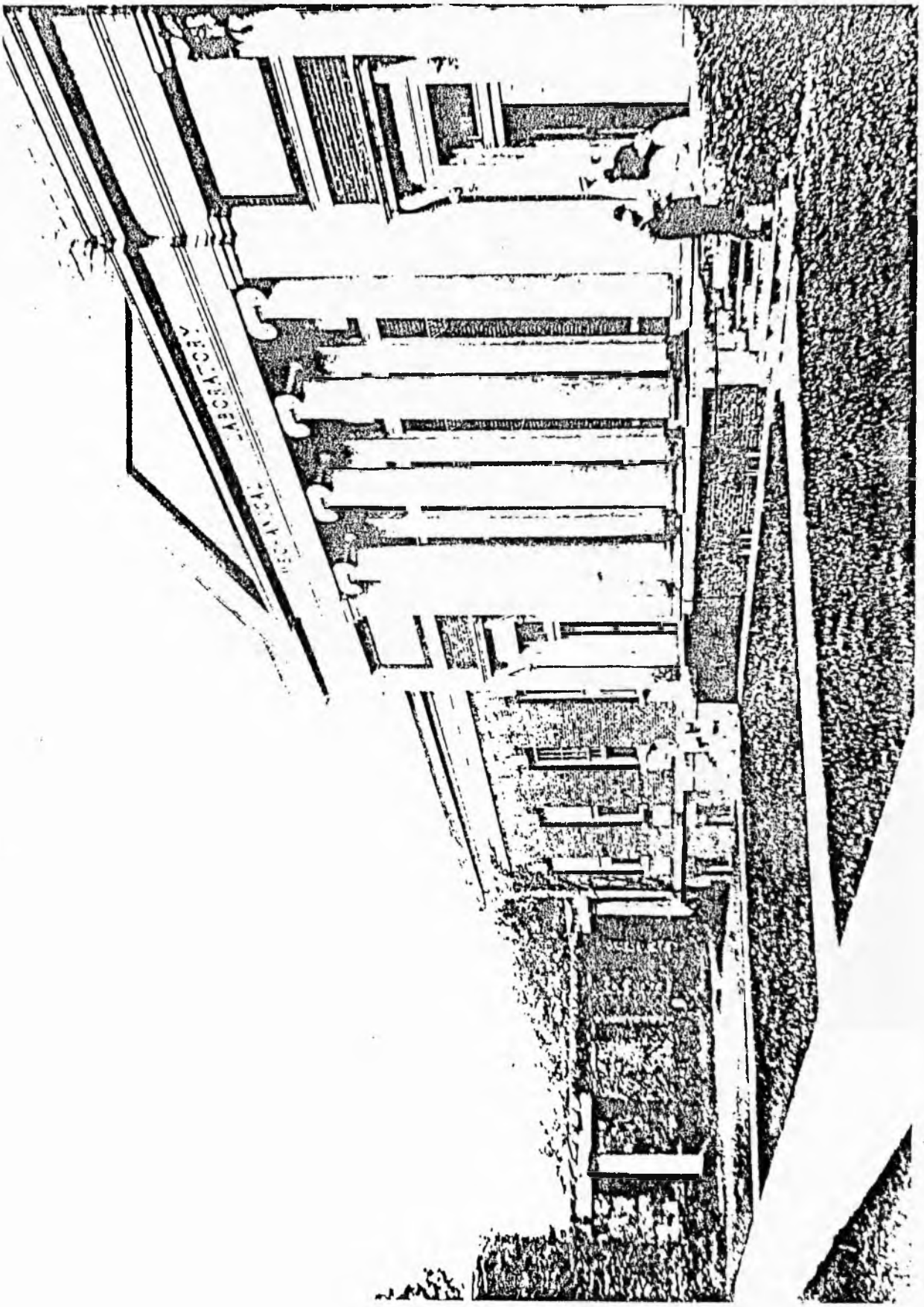
97. University of Virginia Rotunda (1823-24), Charlottesville, Va., remodelled interior by White, 1896-98 (W).



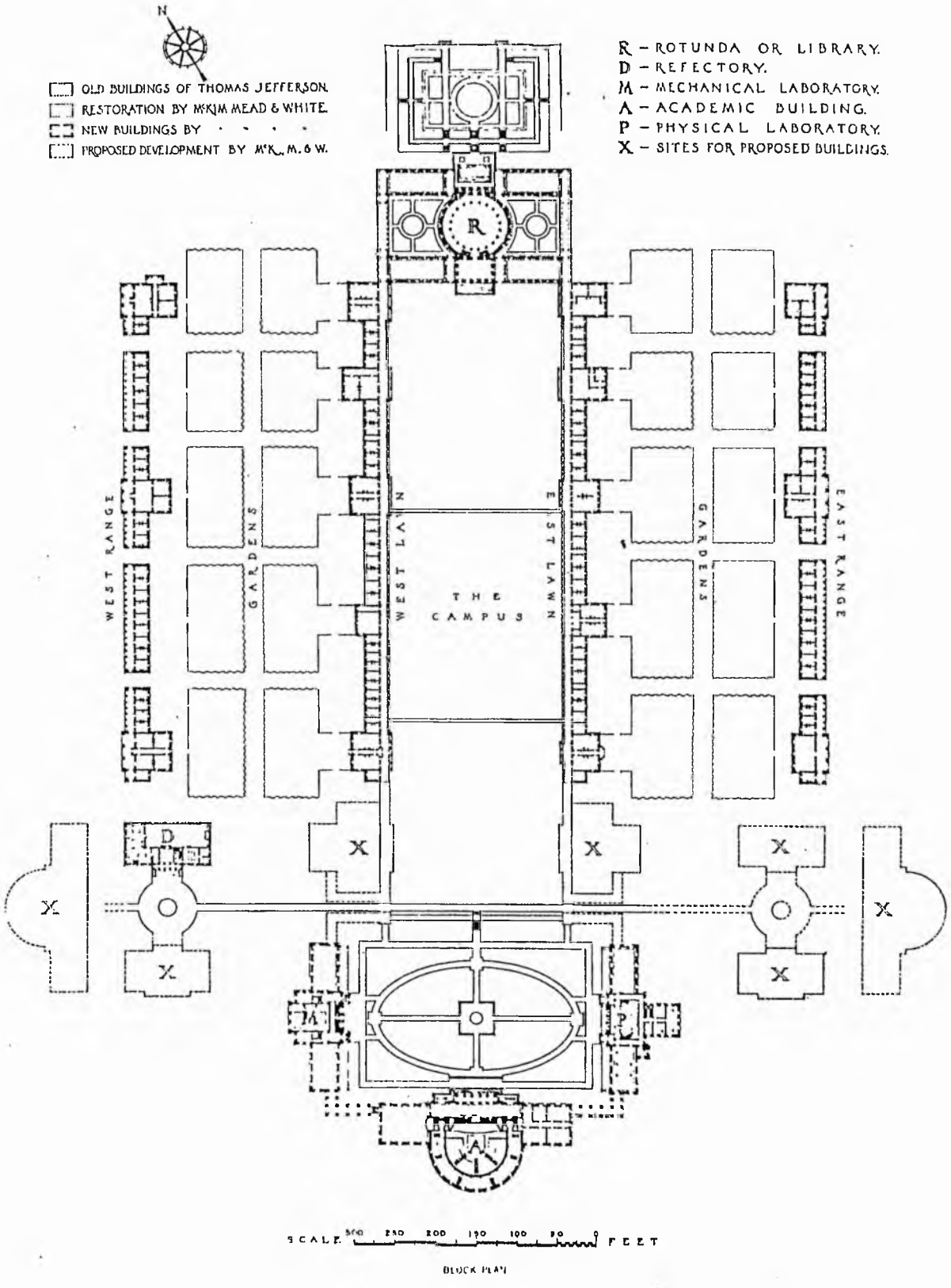
98. University of Virginia, Cabell Hall, 1899 (M pl.112)



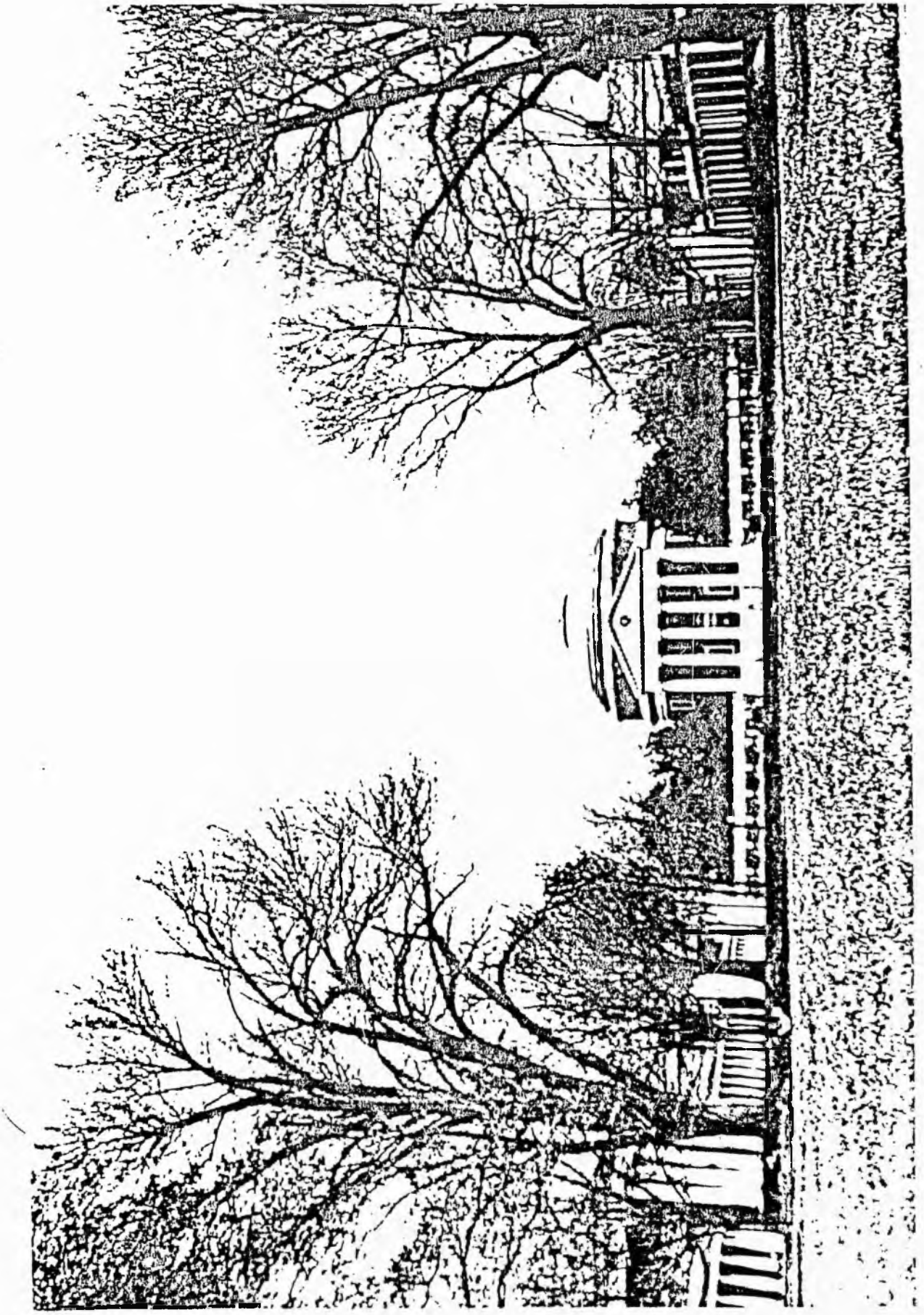
99. University of Virginia, Rouss Hall, 1898 (W)



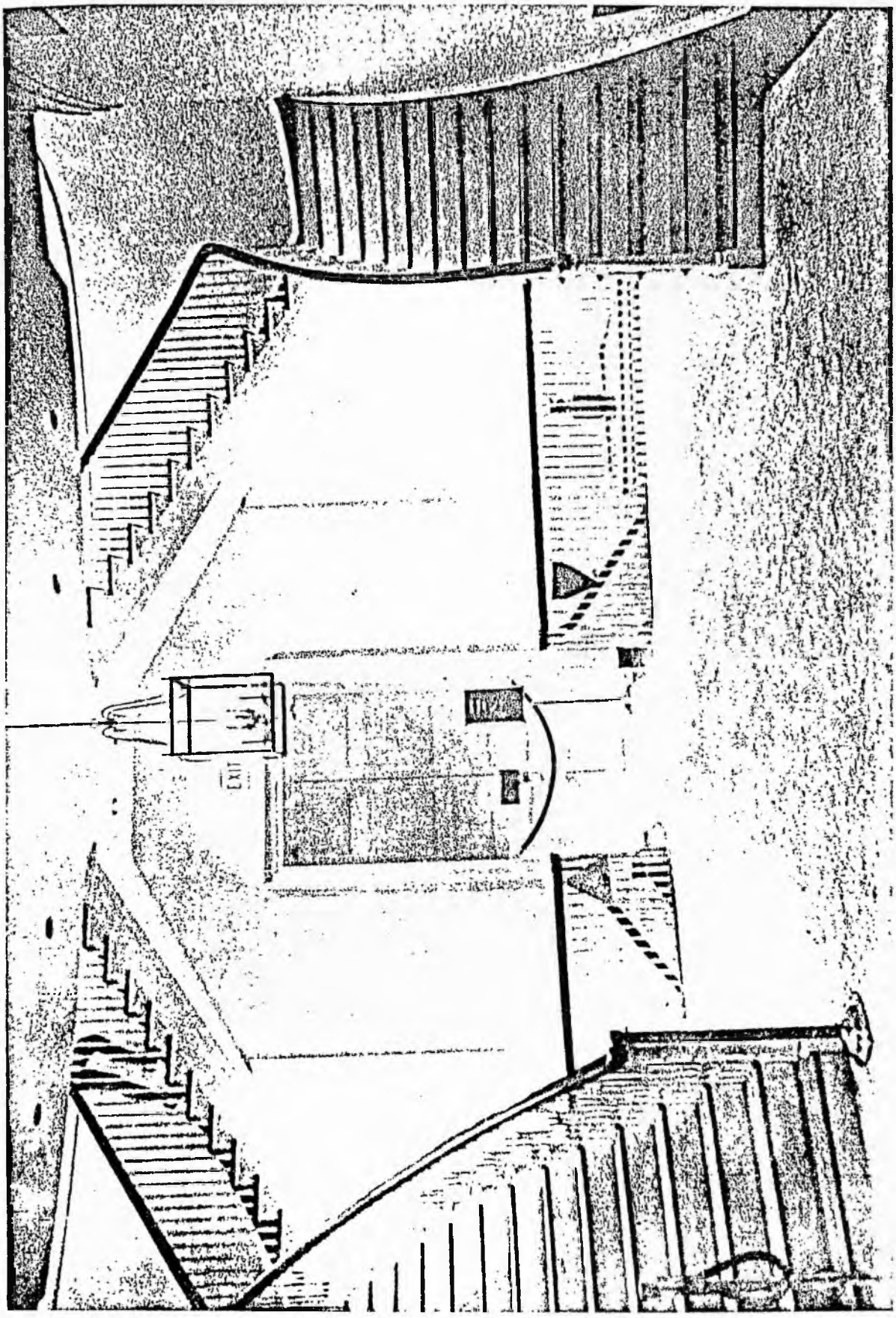
100. University of Virginia, Cocke Hall, 1898 (M pl.112).



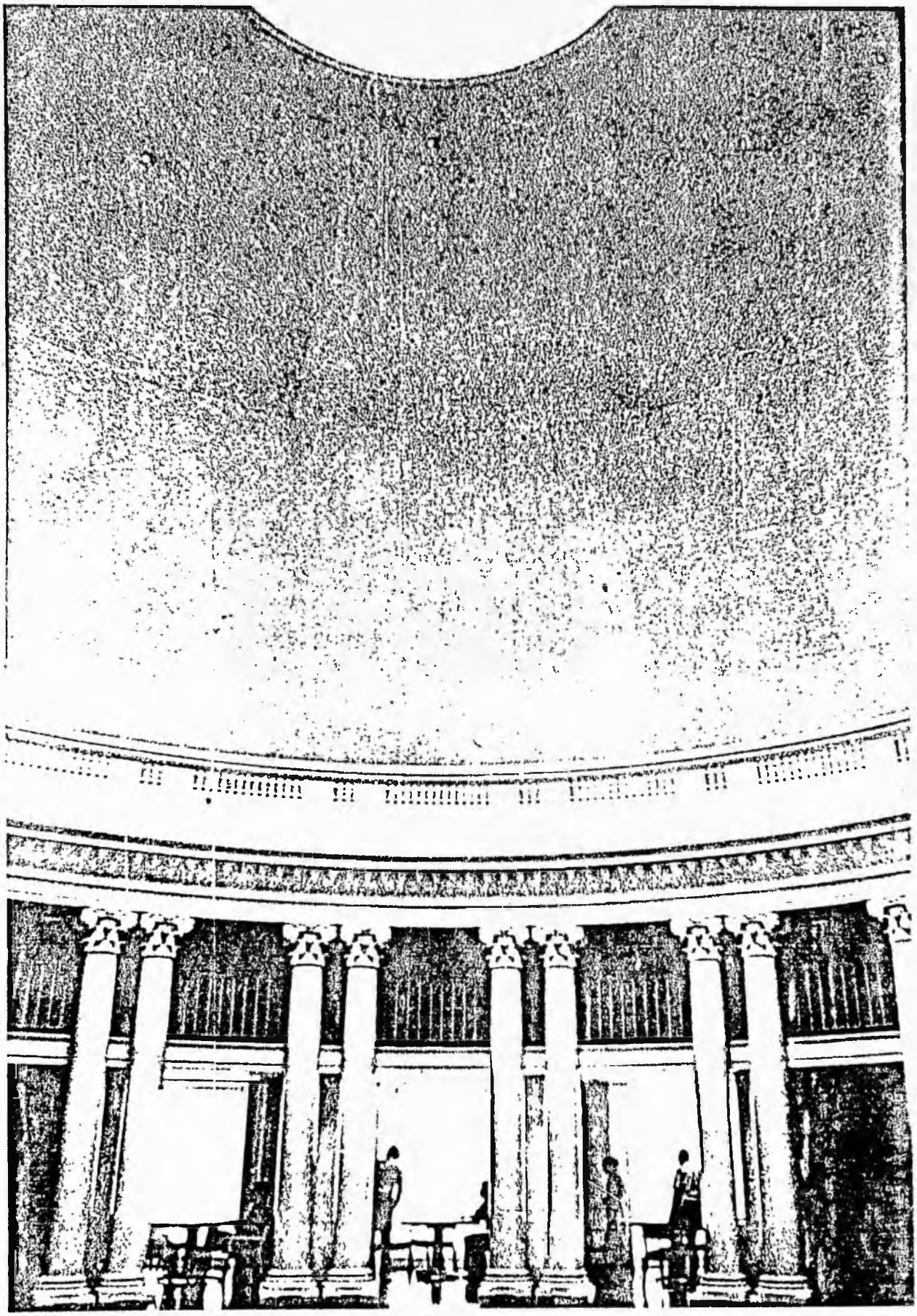
101. University of Virginia plan 1817 and additions by White 1896-99 (M pl.110)



102. University of Virginia Rotunda (W)

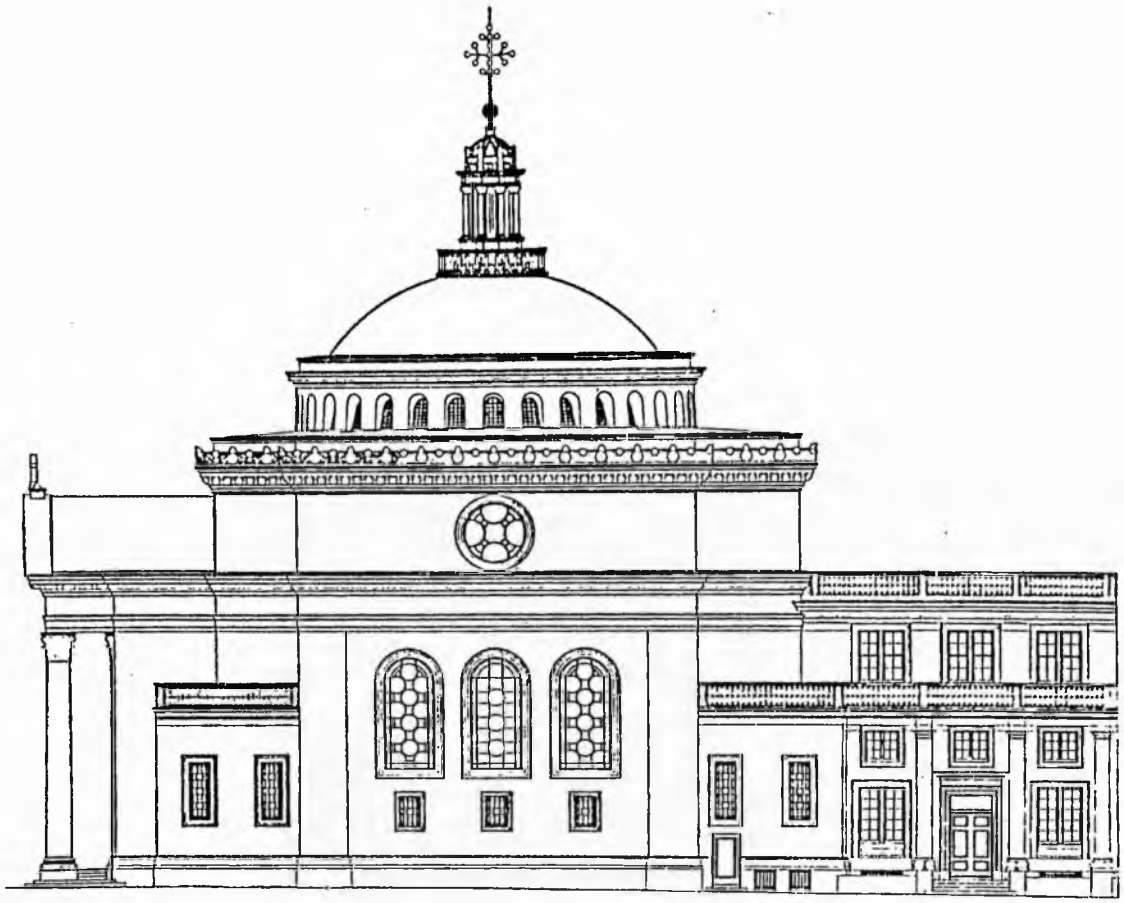


103. University of Virginia Rotunda remodelling, stair from portico level, 1974-76 (W).

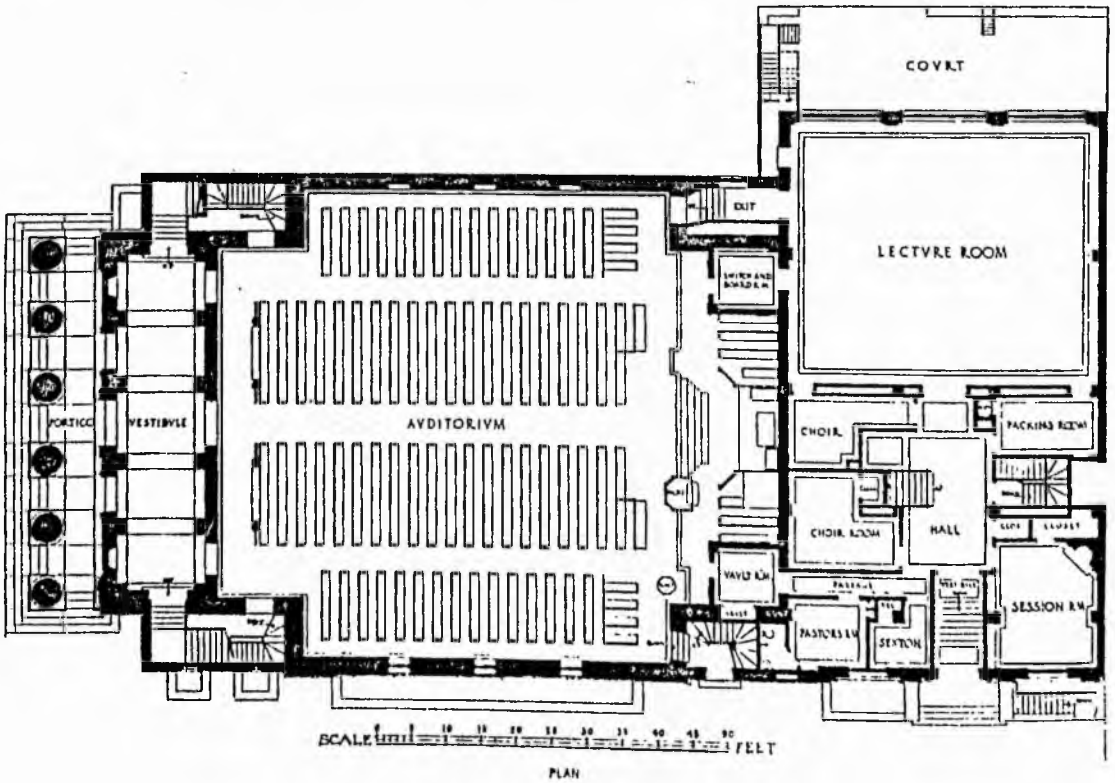


104. University of Virginia Rotunda interior remodelling, 1974-76 (W)

105. Madison Square Presbyterian Church, N.Y., 1903-6 (M pl.251).

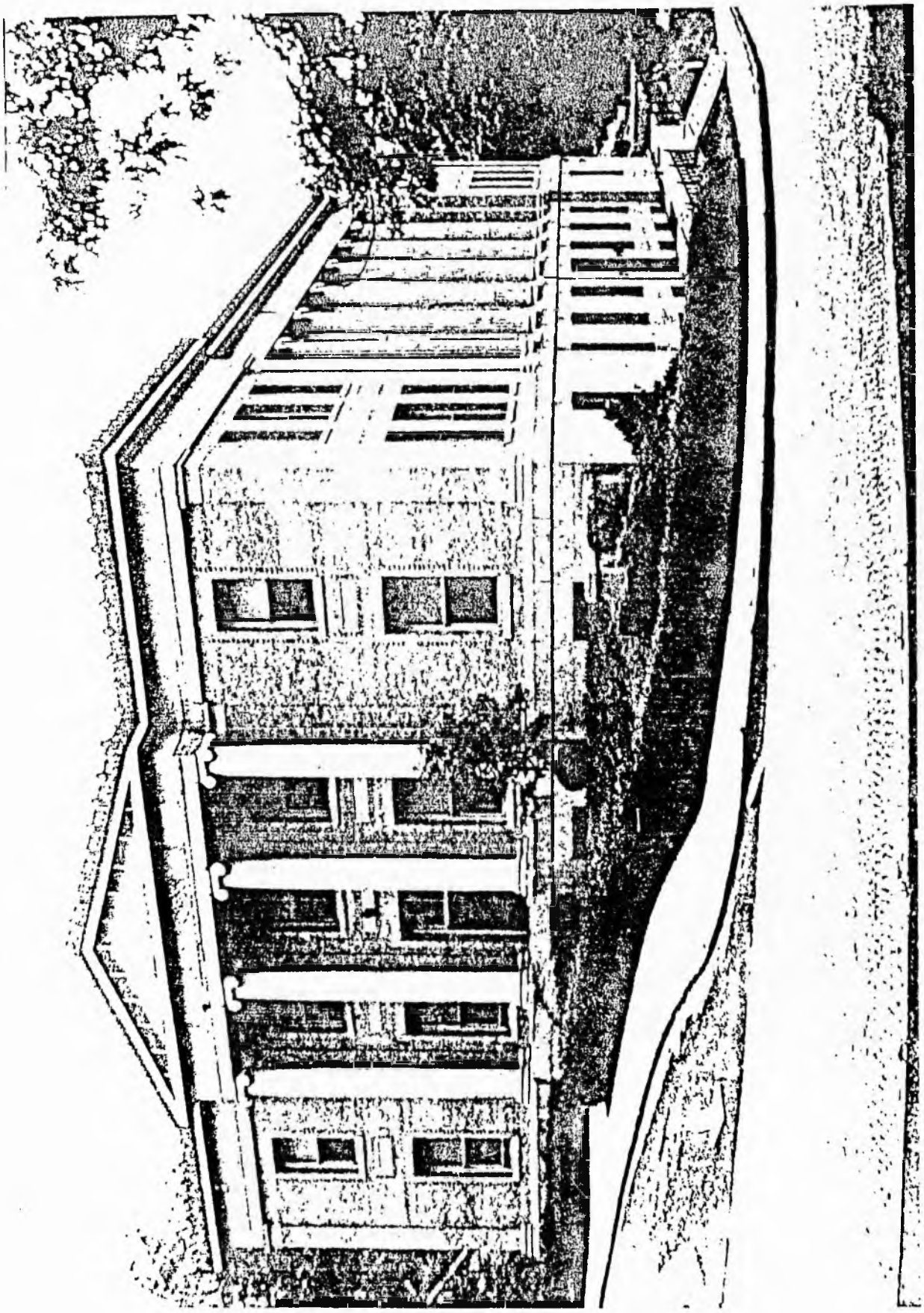


STREET ELEVATION

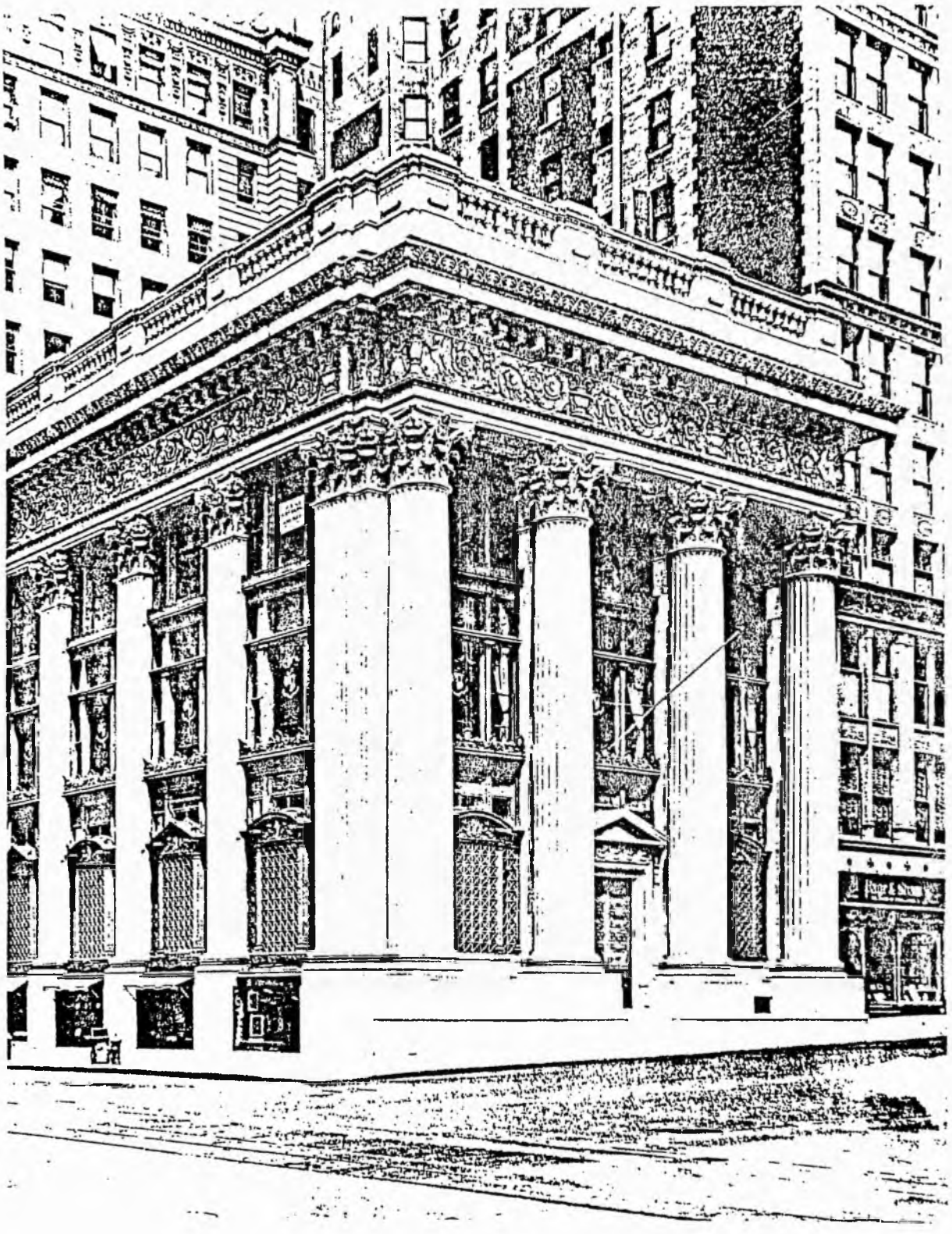


PLAN

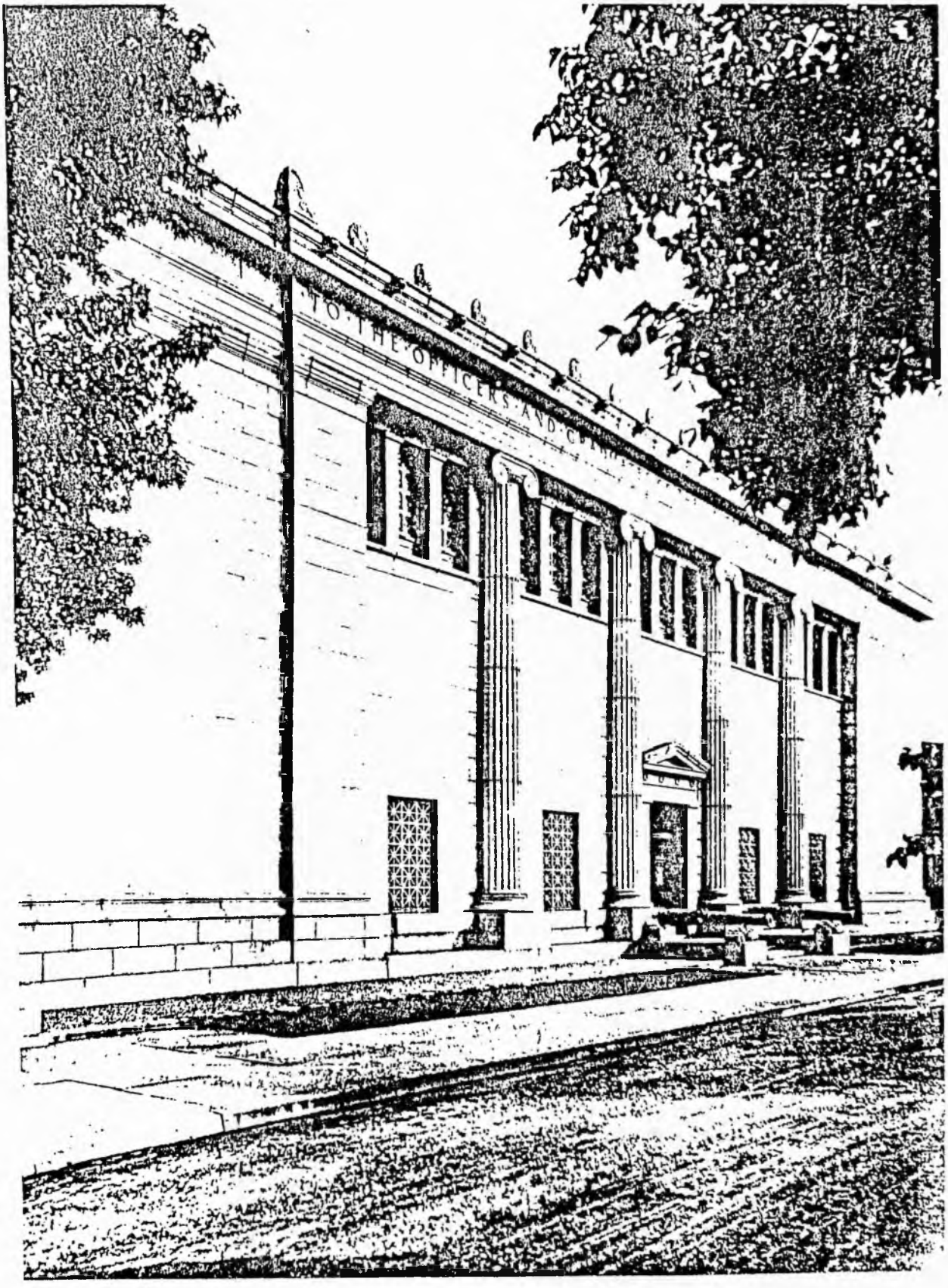
106. Madison Square Presbyterian Church, N.Y., plan and Twenty-Fourth Street elevation, 1903-6 (M pl.255)



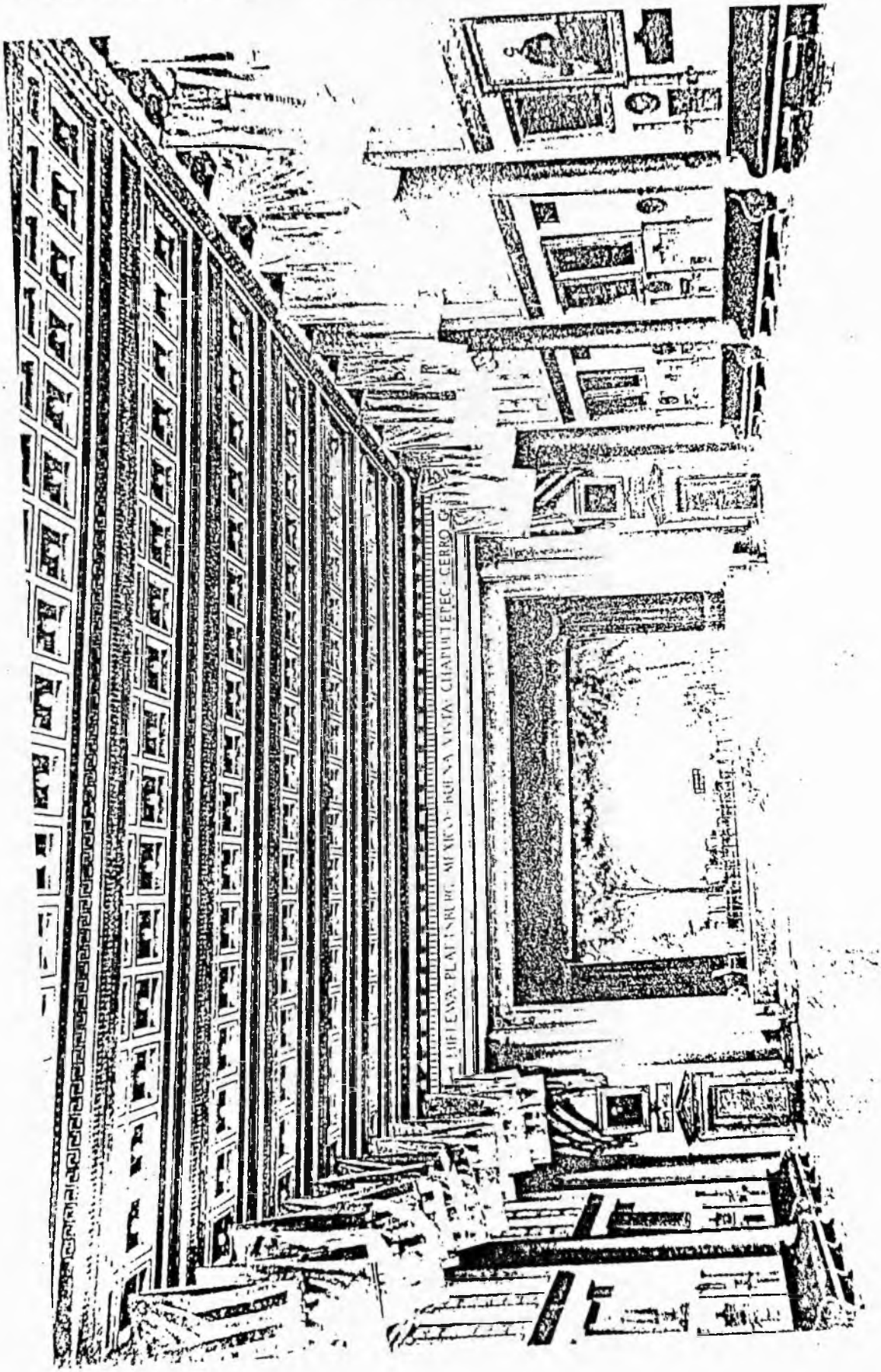
107. Naugatuck High School, Naugatuck, Conn., 1901-5 (W)



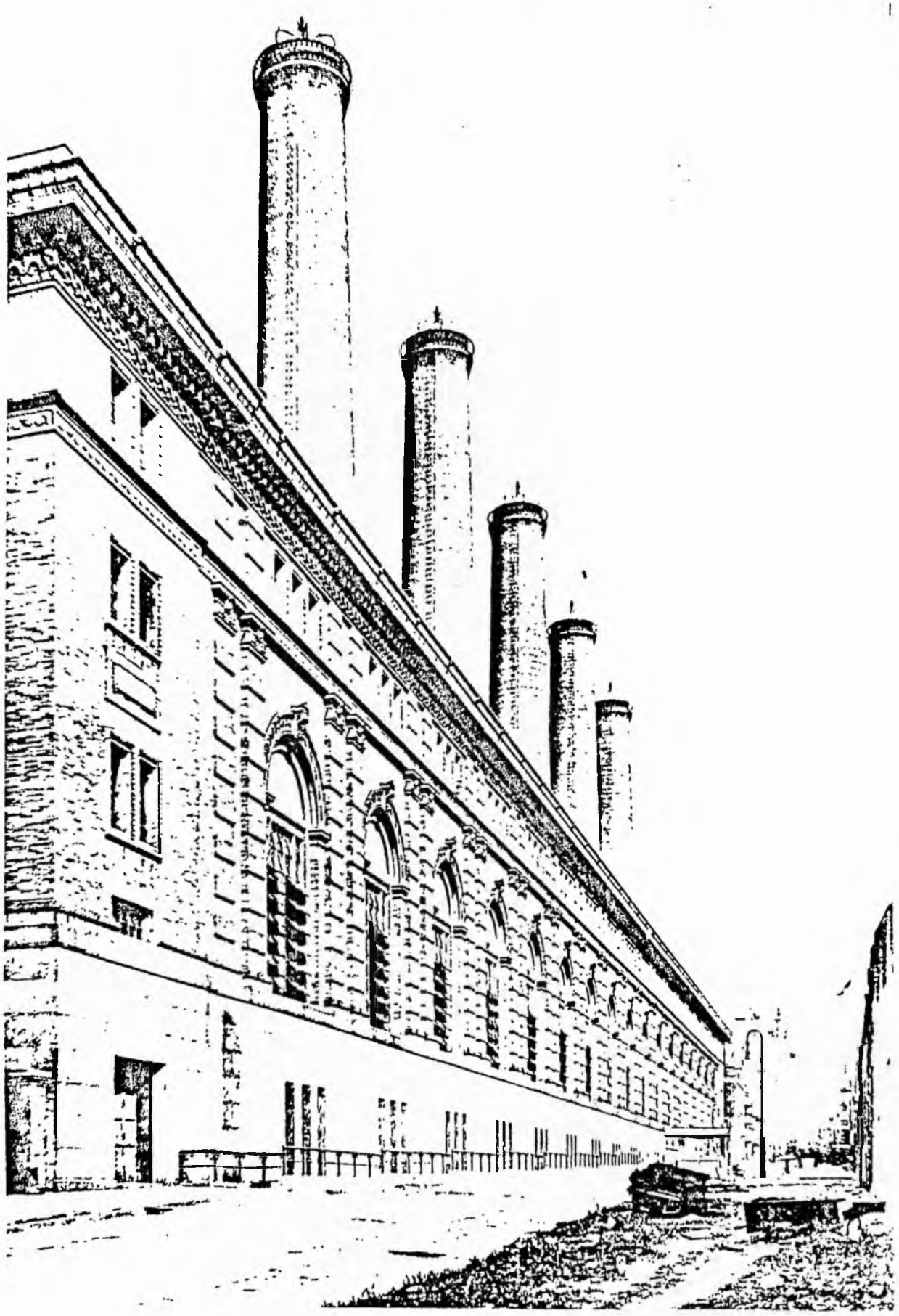
108. Knickerbocker Trust Co., N.Y., 1901-4 (M pl.209)



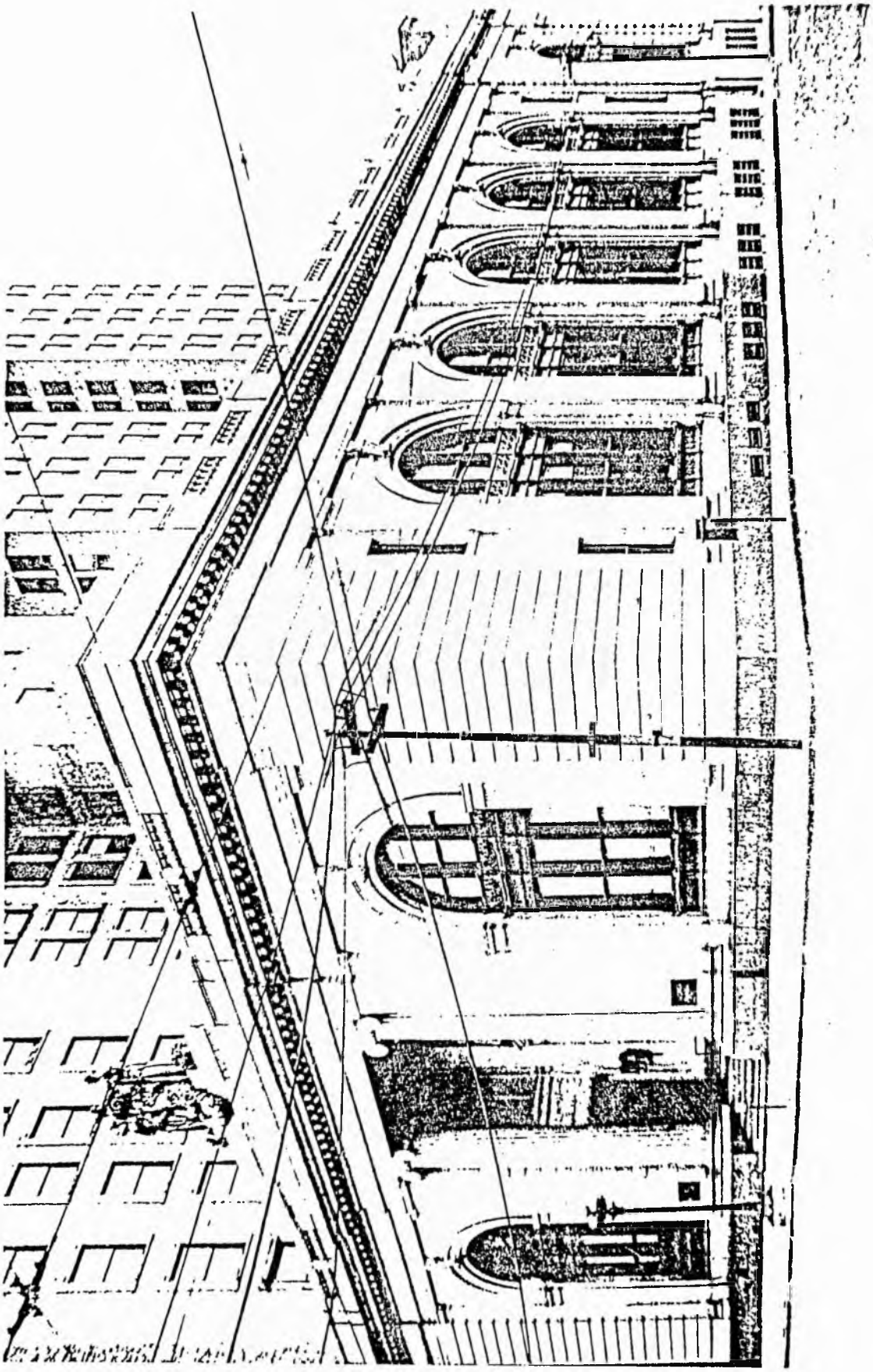
109. United States Military Academy, West Point, N.Y., Cullum Memorial Hall, 1893-98 (M pl.116).



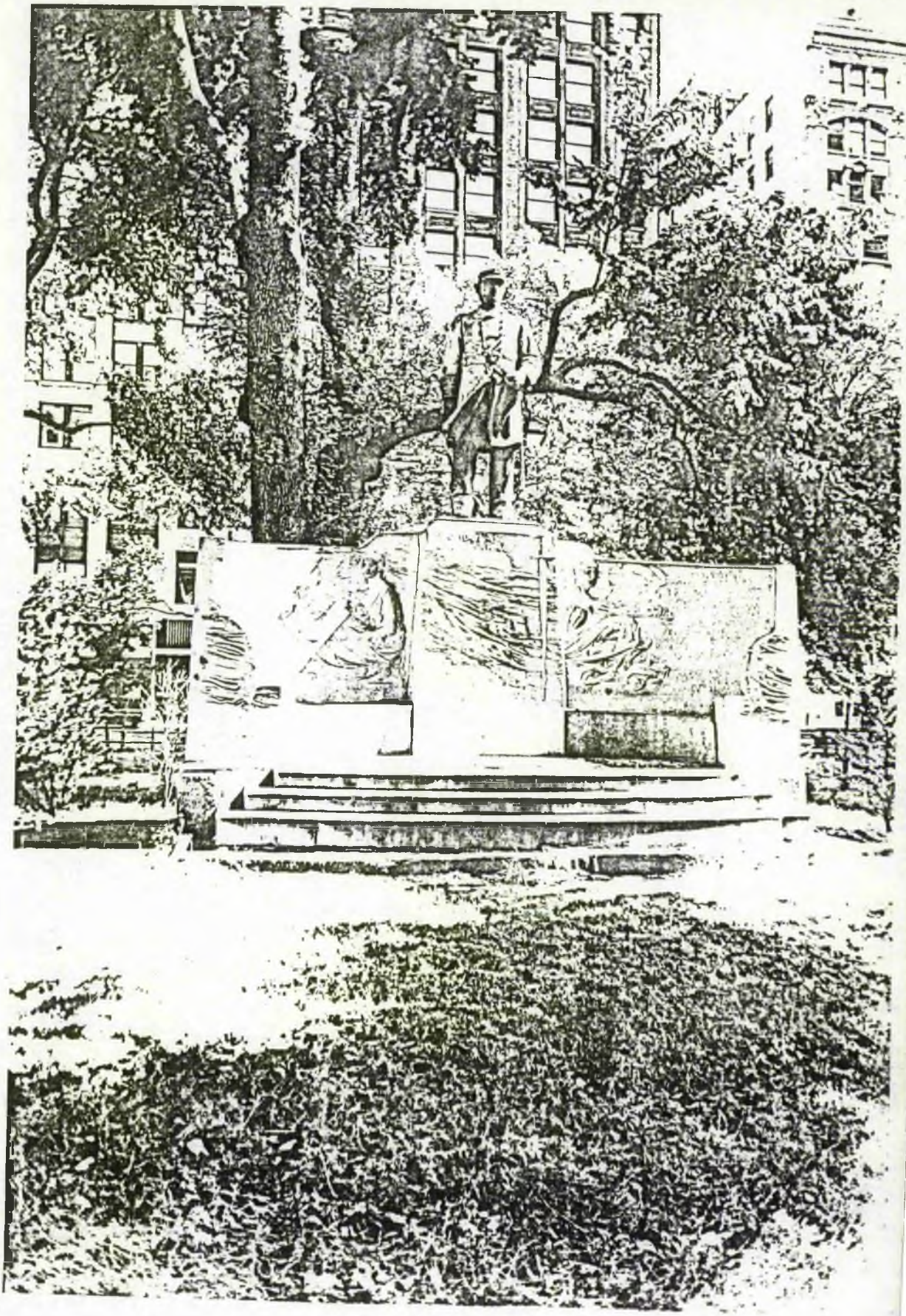
110. United States Military Academy, West Point, N.Y., Cullum Memorial Hall, interior of upper level (M pl.117).



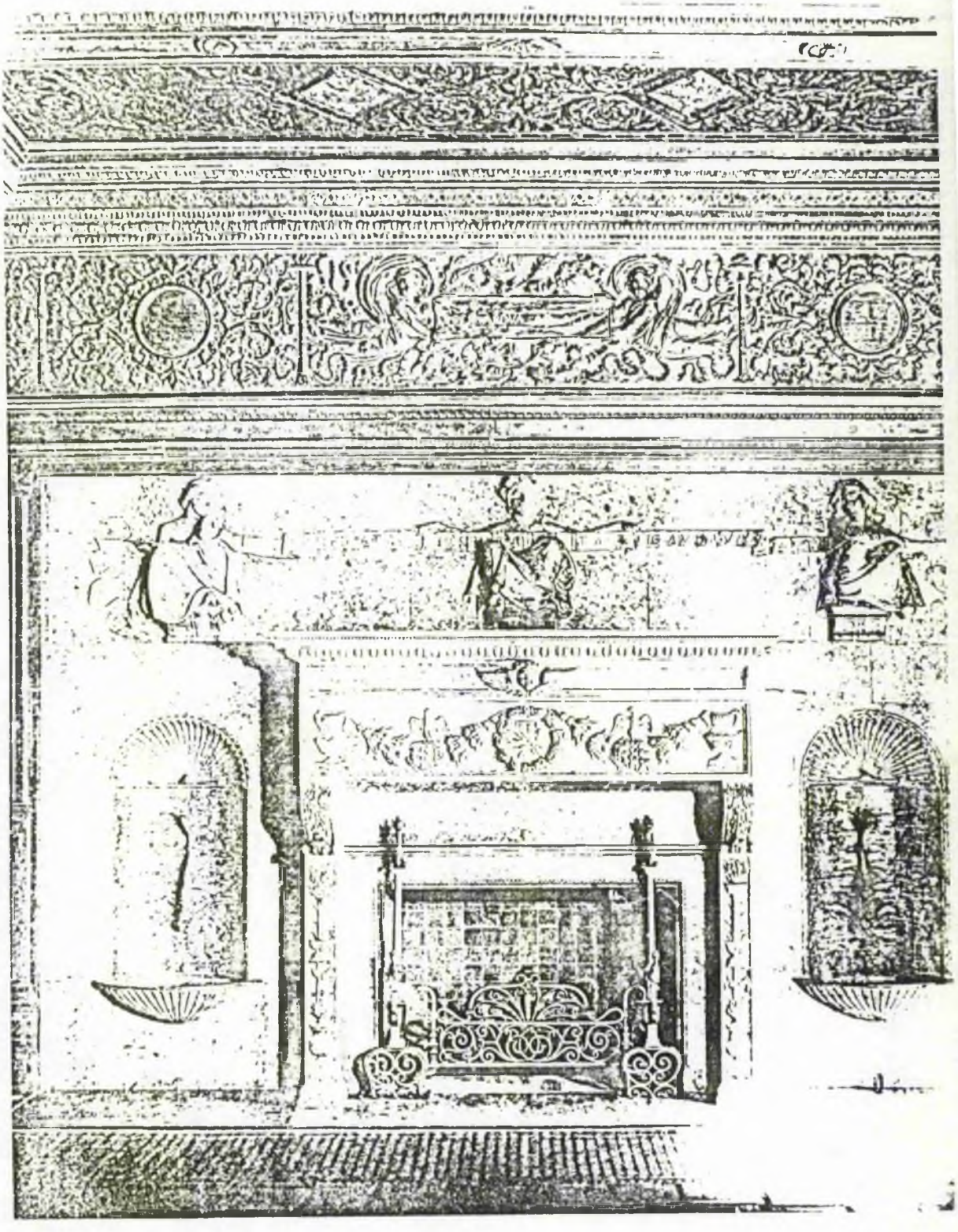
111. Interborough Rapid Transit Power House, N.Y., 1900-1904 (M pl.207).



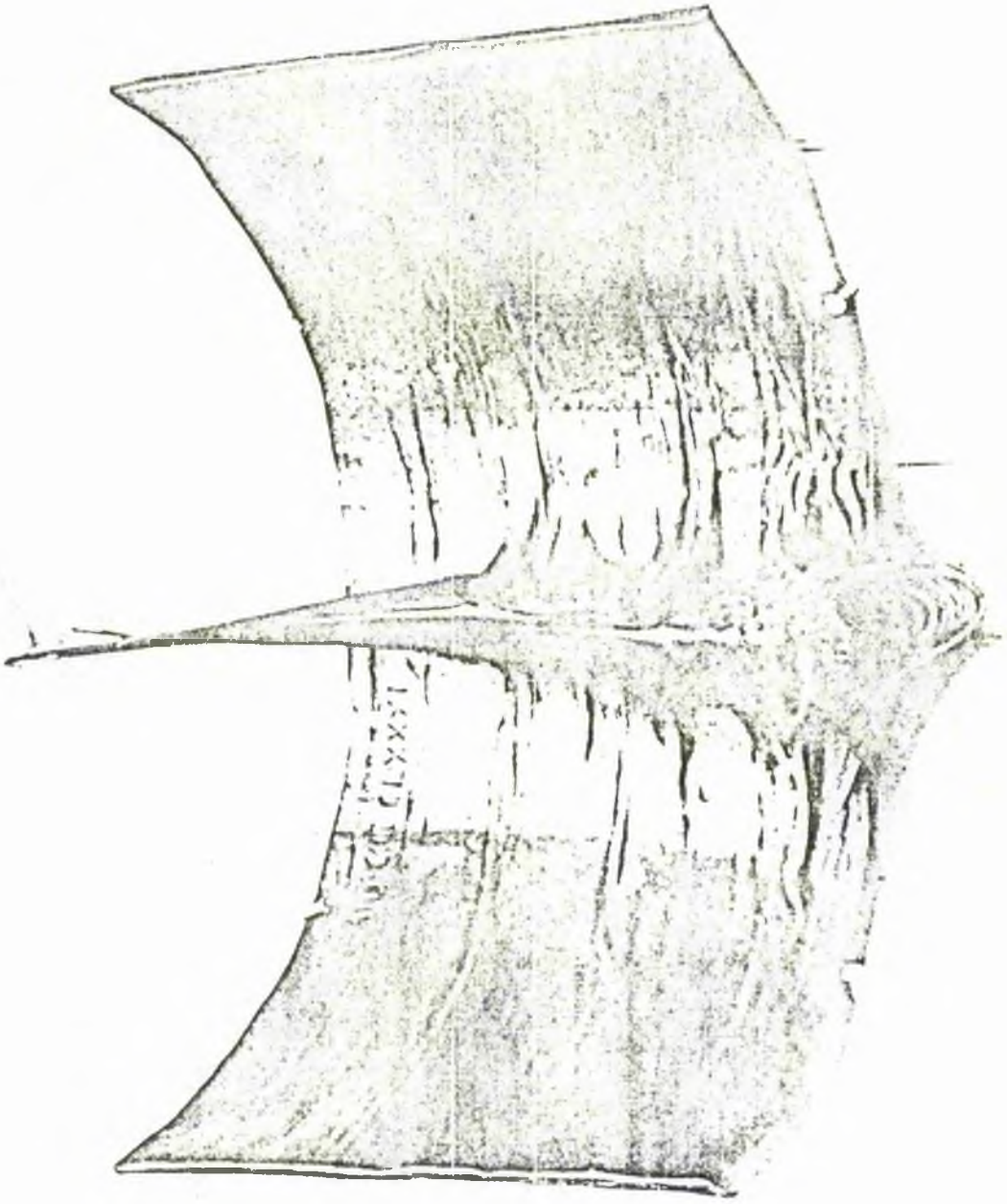
112. State Savings Bank, Detroit, Mich., 1898-1900 (M pl.125).



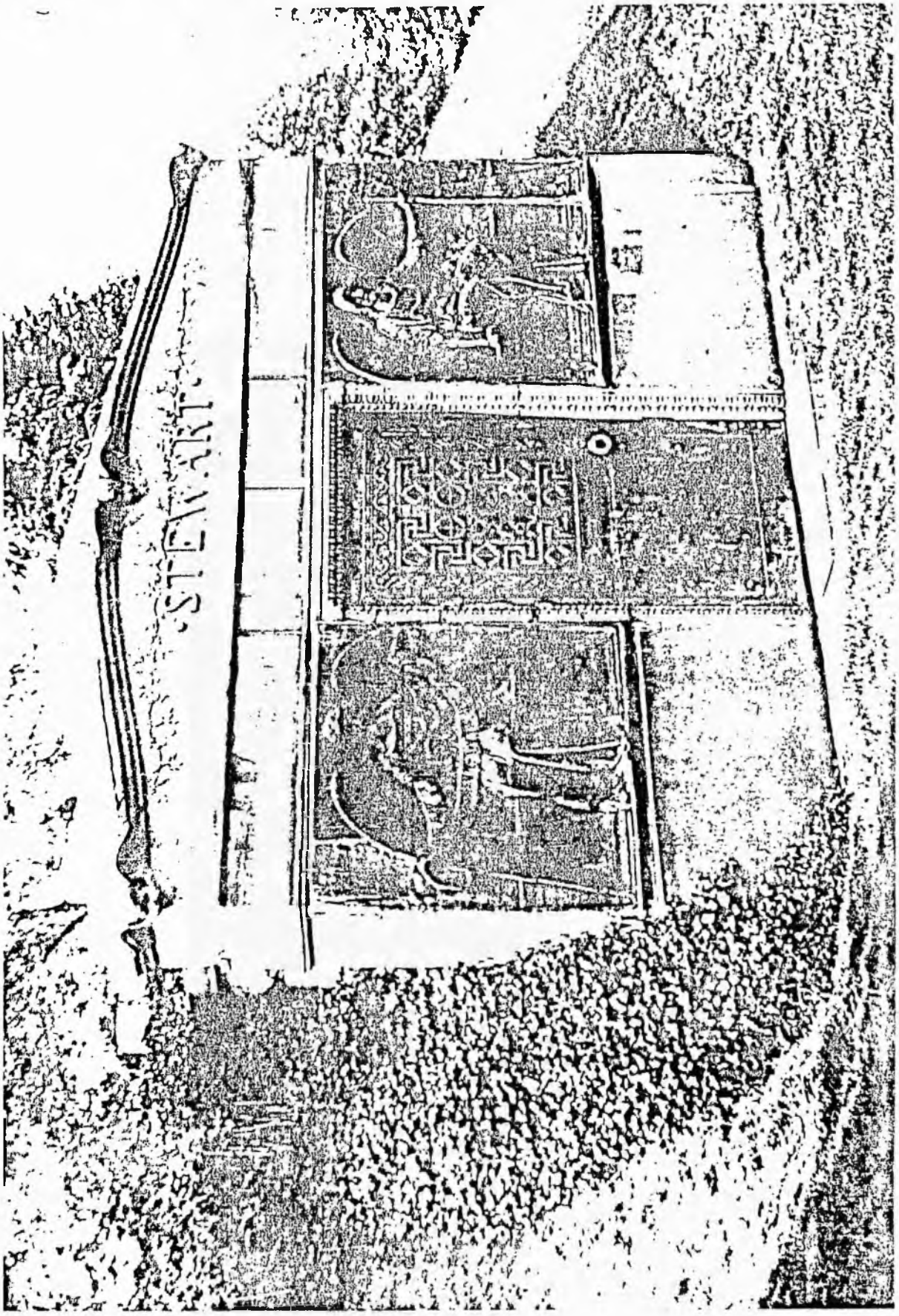
113. Augustus Saint-Gaudens: Admiral David G. Farragut Monument, Madison Square, N.Y., 1879-81 (W).



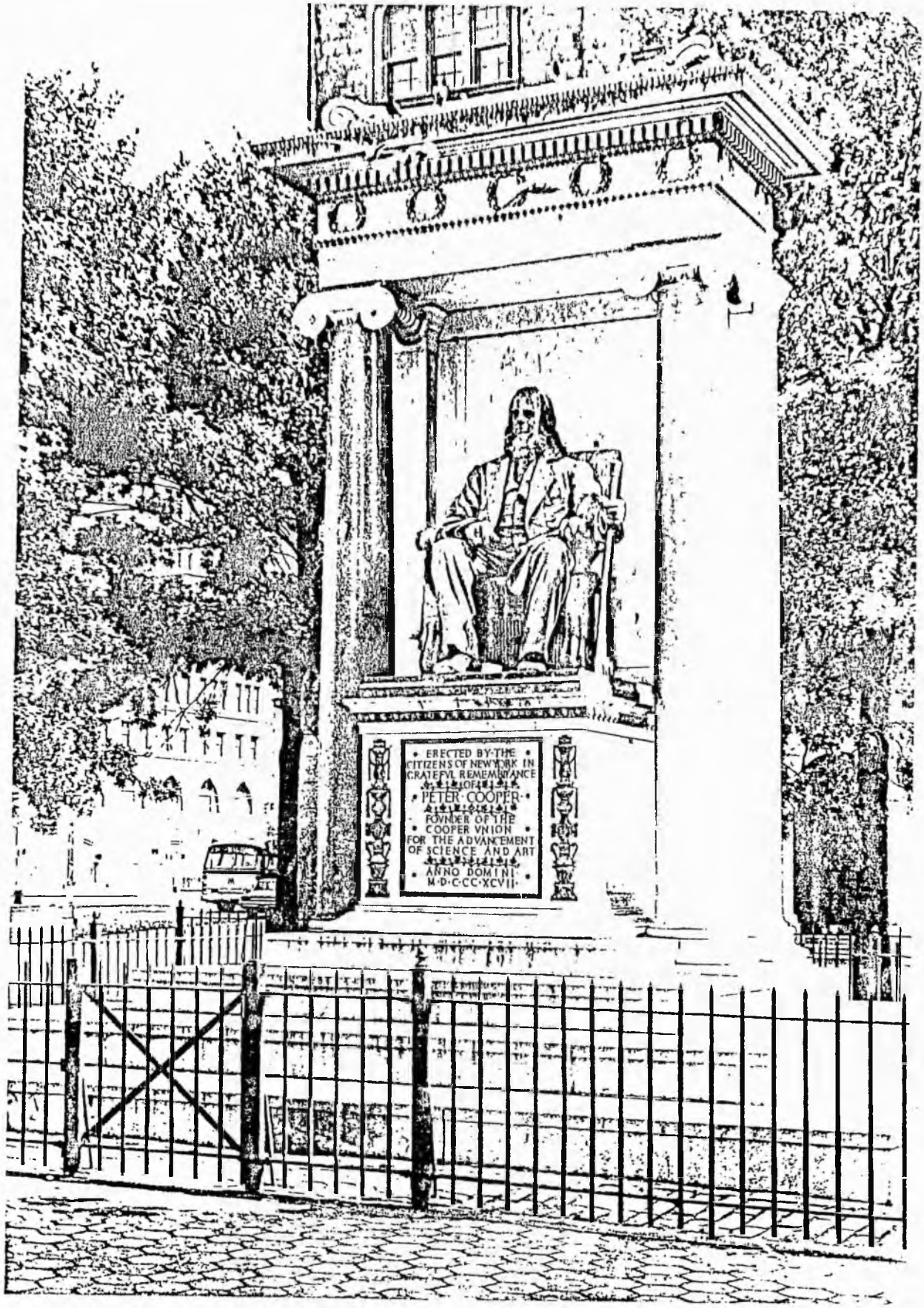
114. Augustus Saint-Gaudens: Villard Mansion, N.Y., Dining Room alcoves with designs of fish (M pl.11).



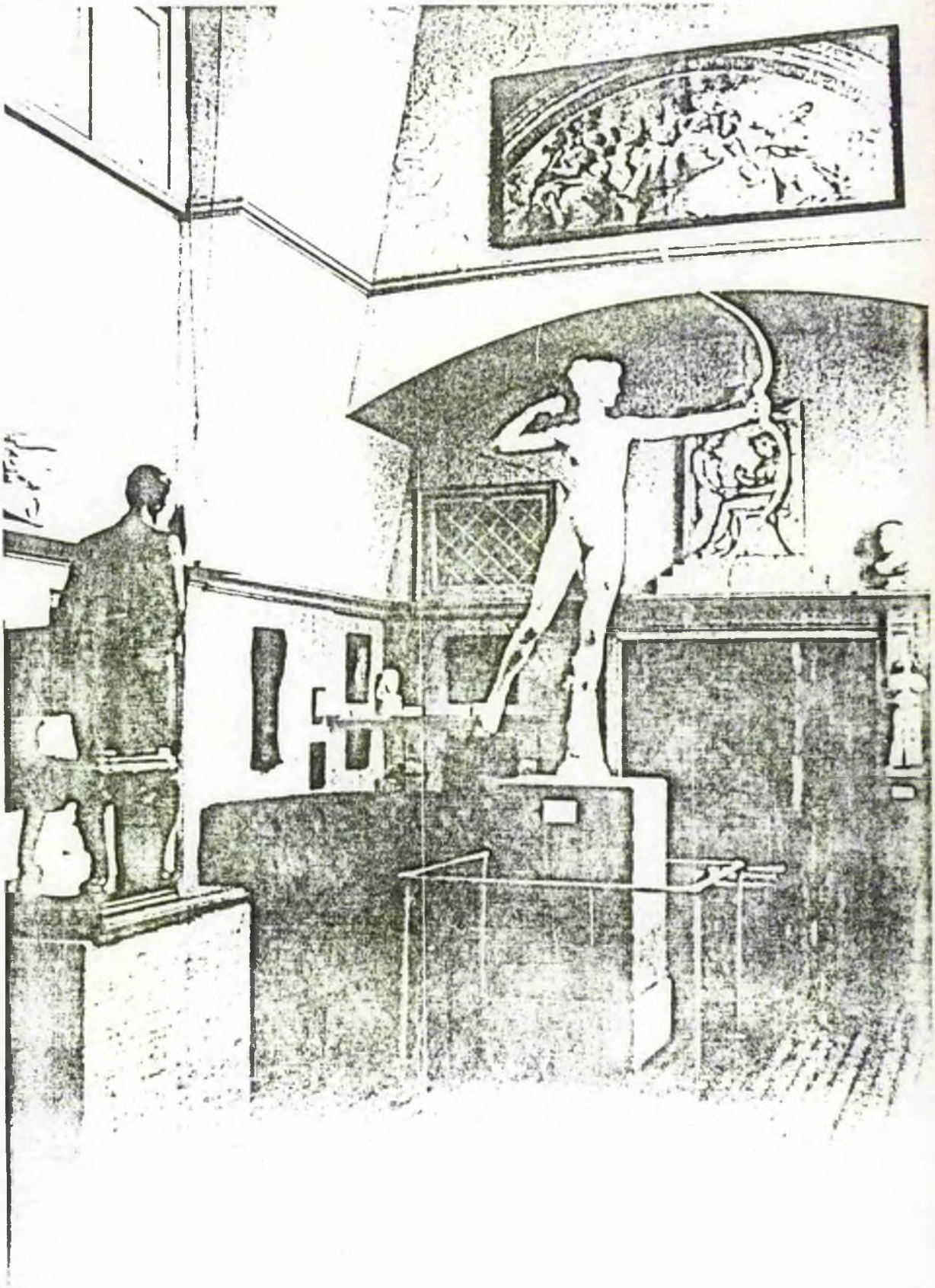
115. Augustus Saint-Gaudens: Sketch of a fish. (Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site, Cornish, N.H.)



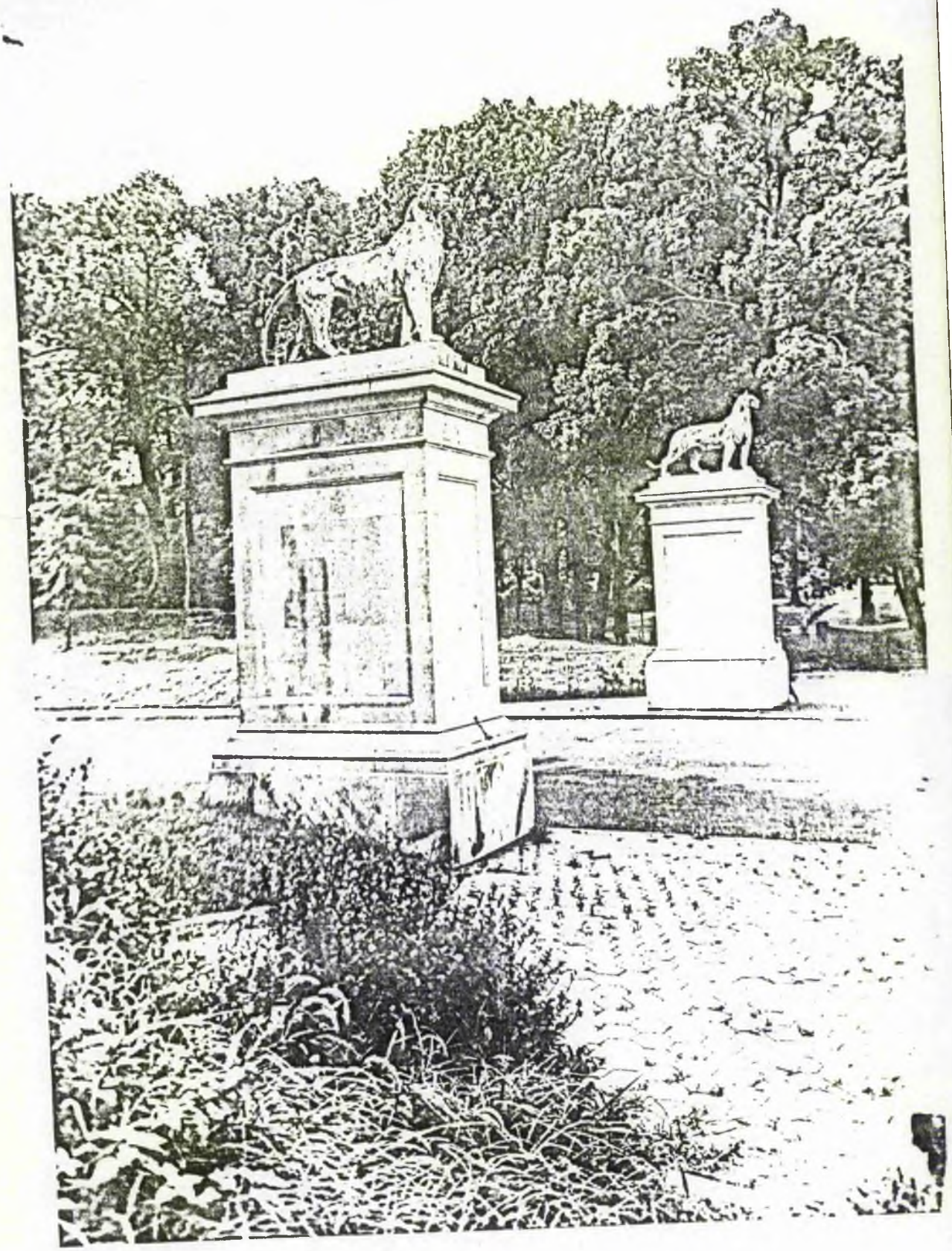
116. Augustus Saint-Gauden: Relief sculptures on either side of entrance, D. Stewart Mausoleum, Greenwood Cemetery, Brooklyn, N.Y., 1885 (W).



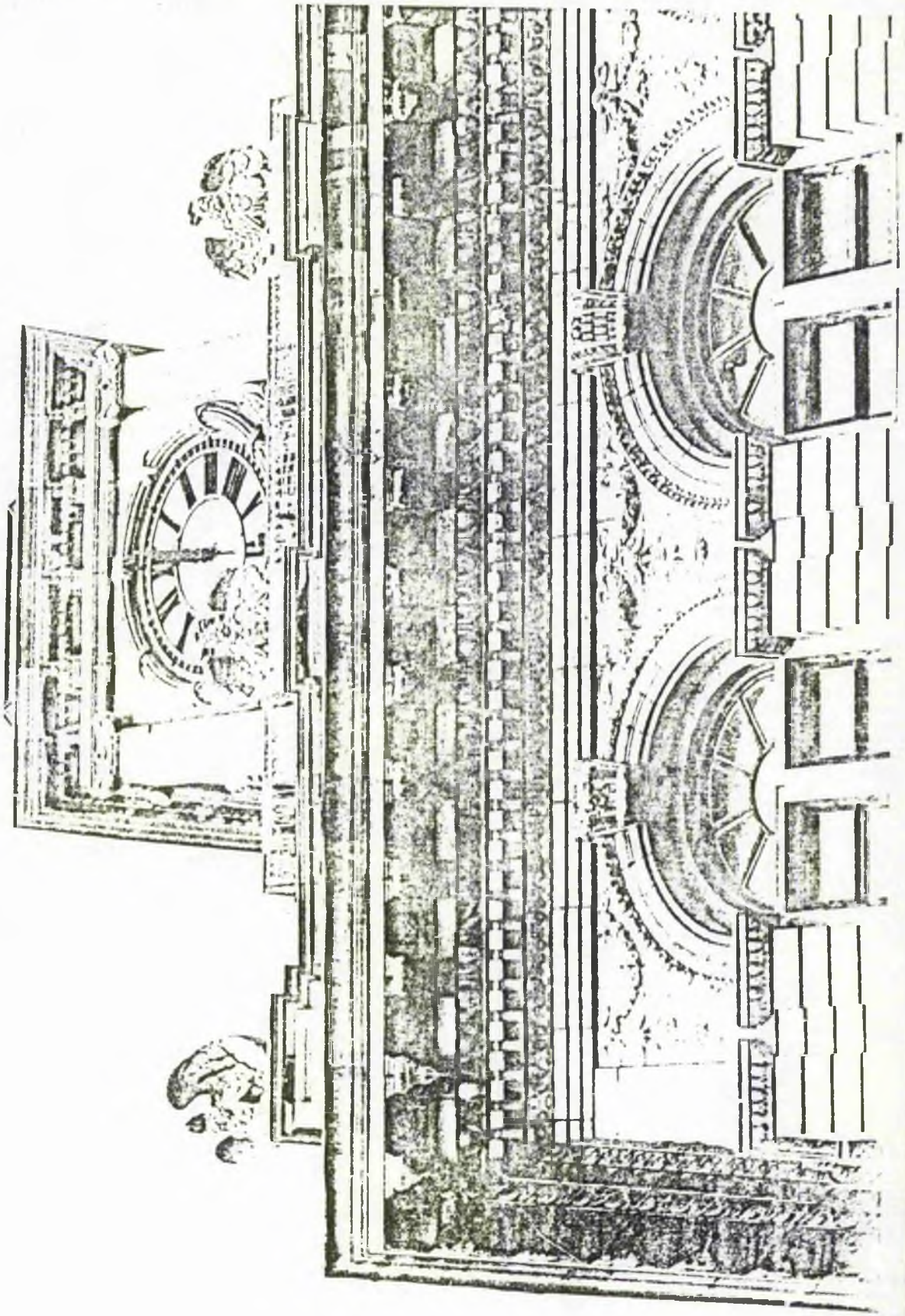
117. Augustus Saint-Gaudens: Peter Cooper Monument, N.Y., 1894-97 (W).



118. Augustus Saint Gaudens: "Diana" Saint Gaudens National Historic Site, Cornish, N.H. (W).

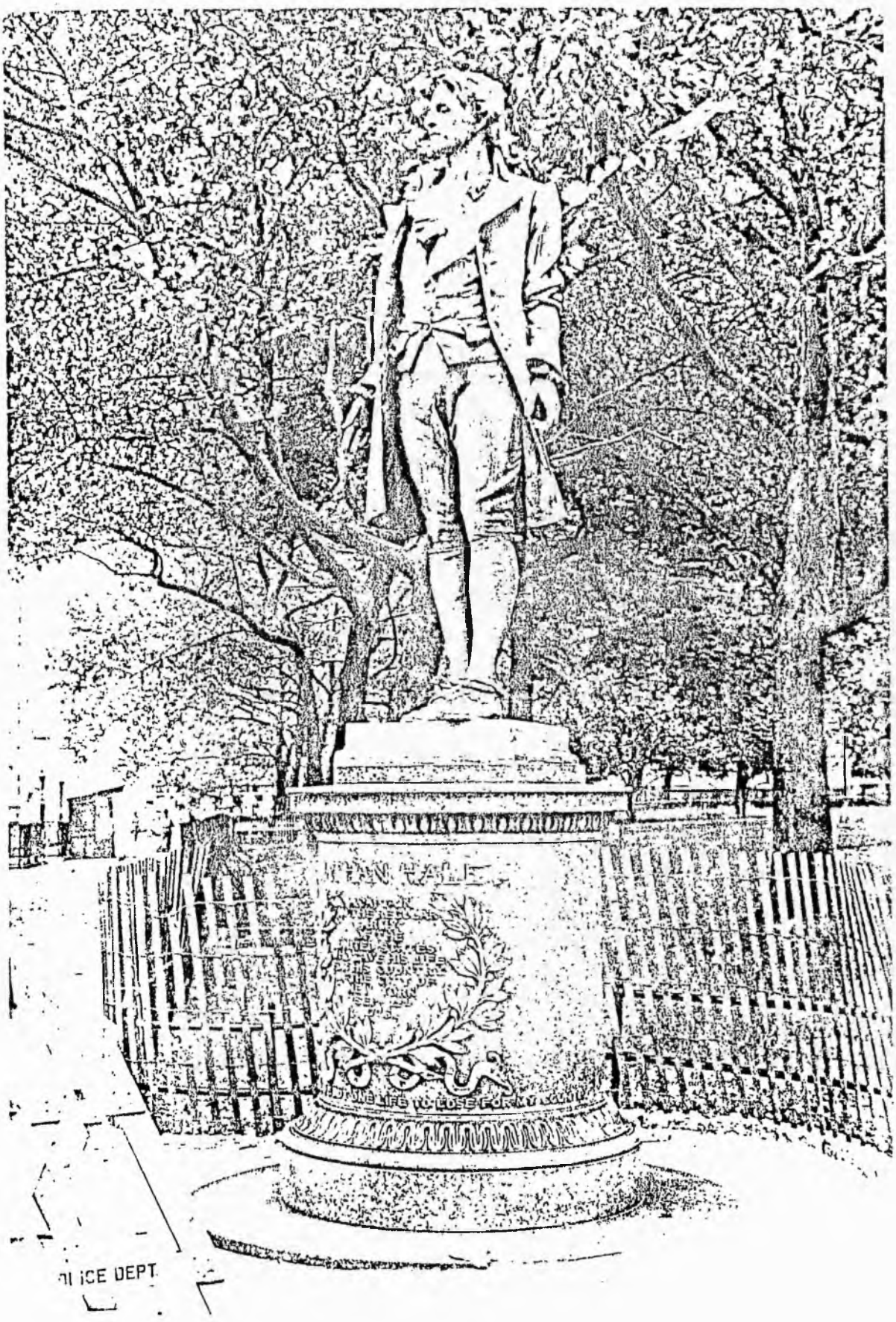


119. A. Phimister Proctor, "Panthers" at West Park and Third Street entrance to Prospect Park, Brooklyn, N.Y. (W).

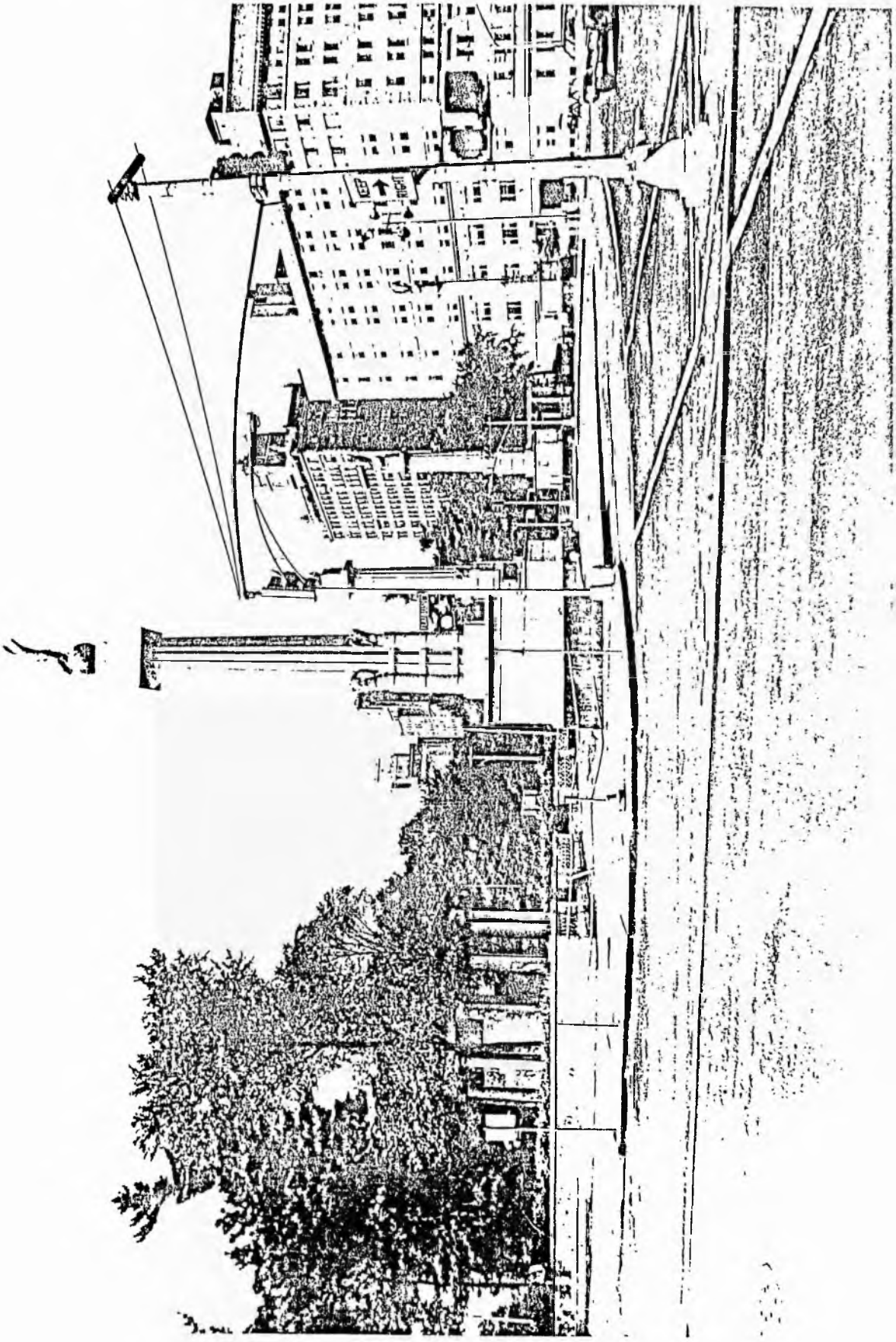


120. Philip Martiny: Eagles on the New York Life Insurance Company Building, N.Y. (W).

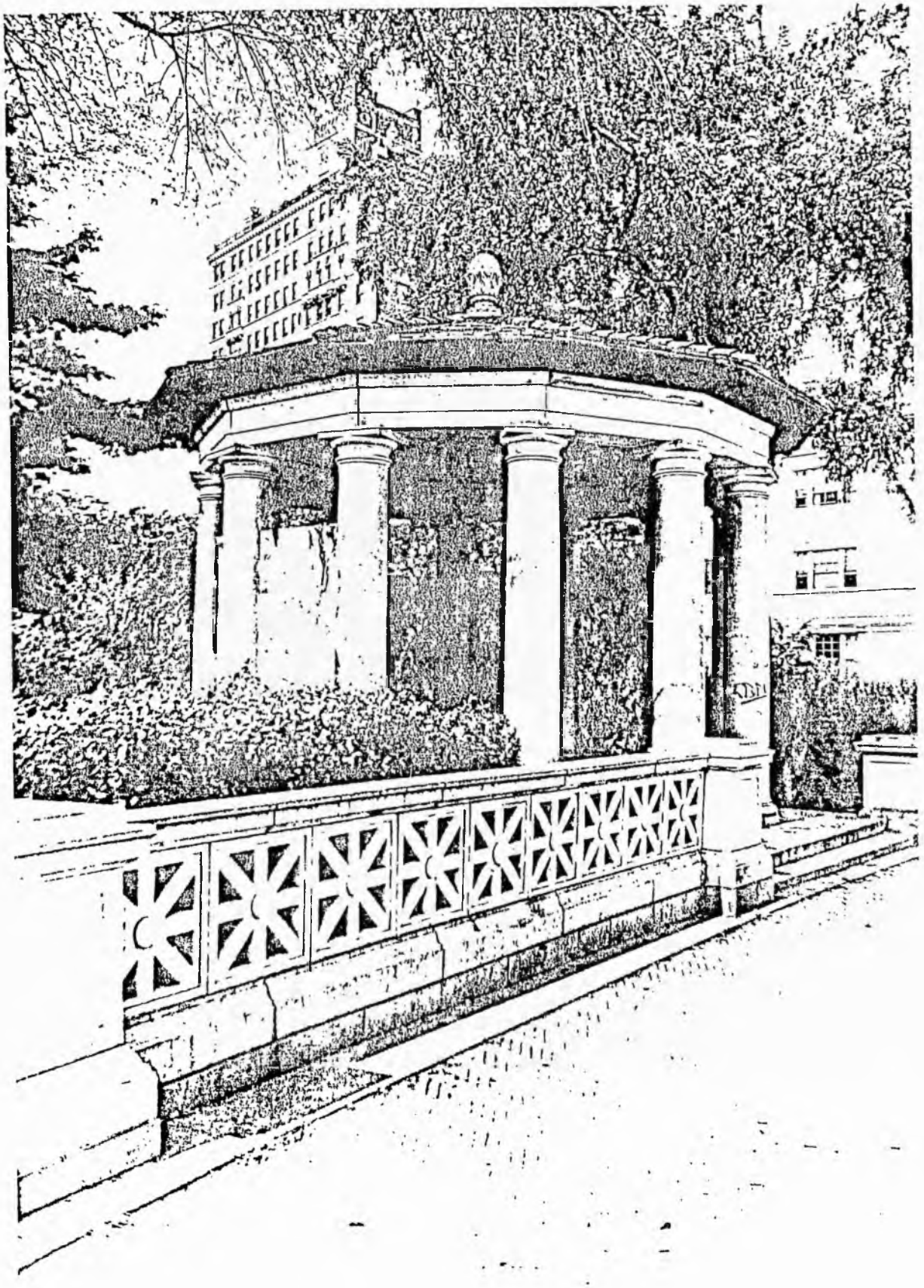
121. Philip Martiny: Portico ceiling decoration, the New York Life Insurance Company Building, N.Y. (W).



122. Frederick MacMonnies: Nathan Hale statue, City Hall Park, N.Y. (W)

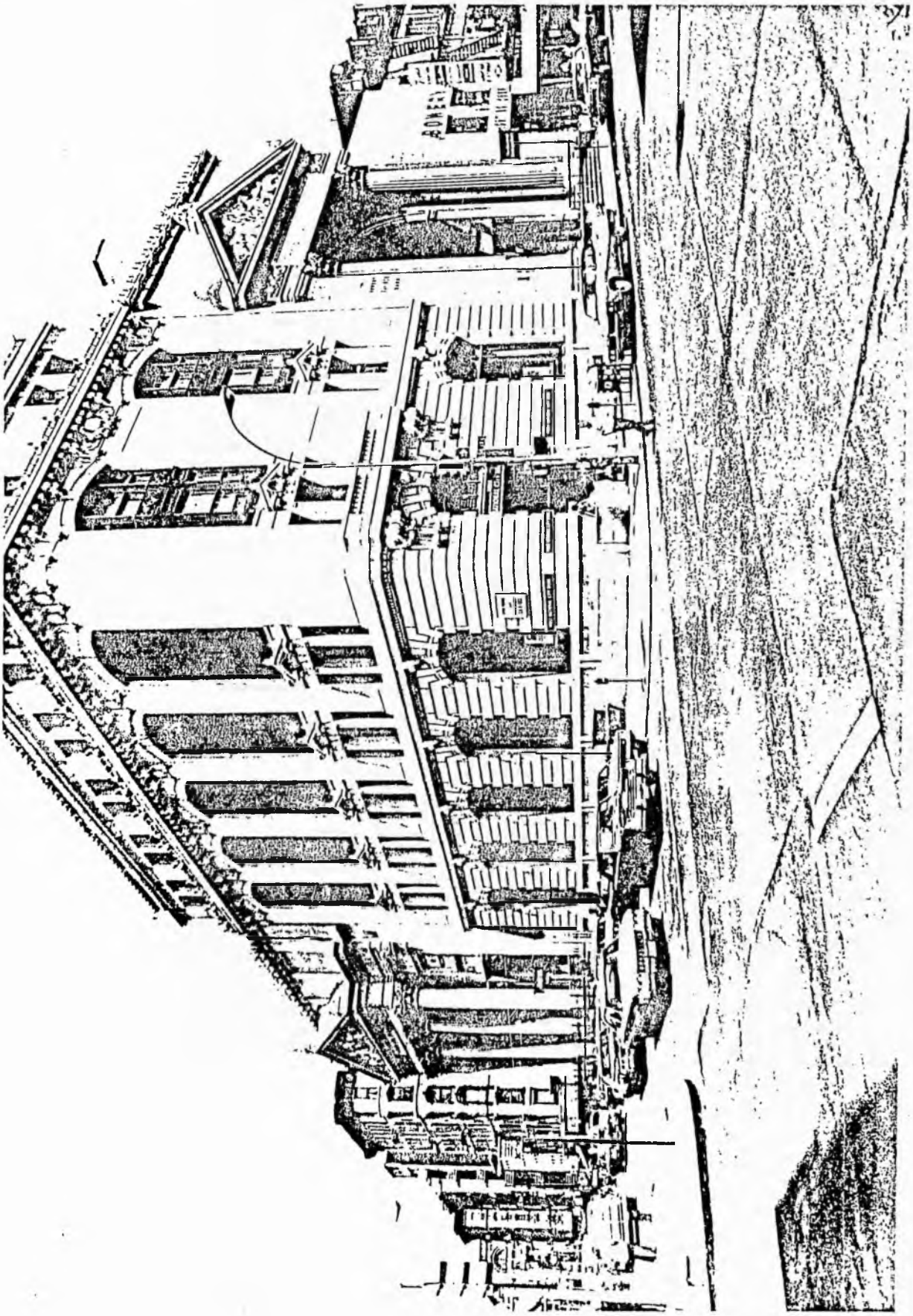


123. Grand Army Plaza entrance to Prospect Park, Brooklyn, N.Y. (W).



124. Circular Temple at Grand Army Plaza entrance to Prospect Park Brooklyn, N.Y. (M pl.31)

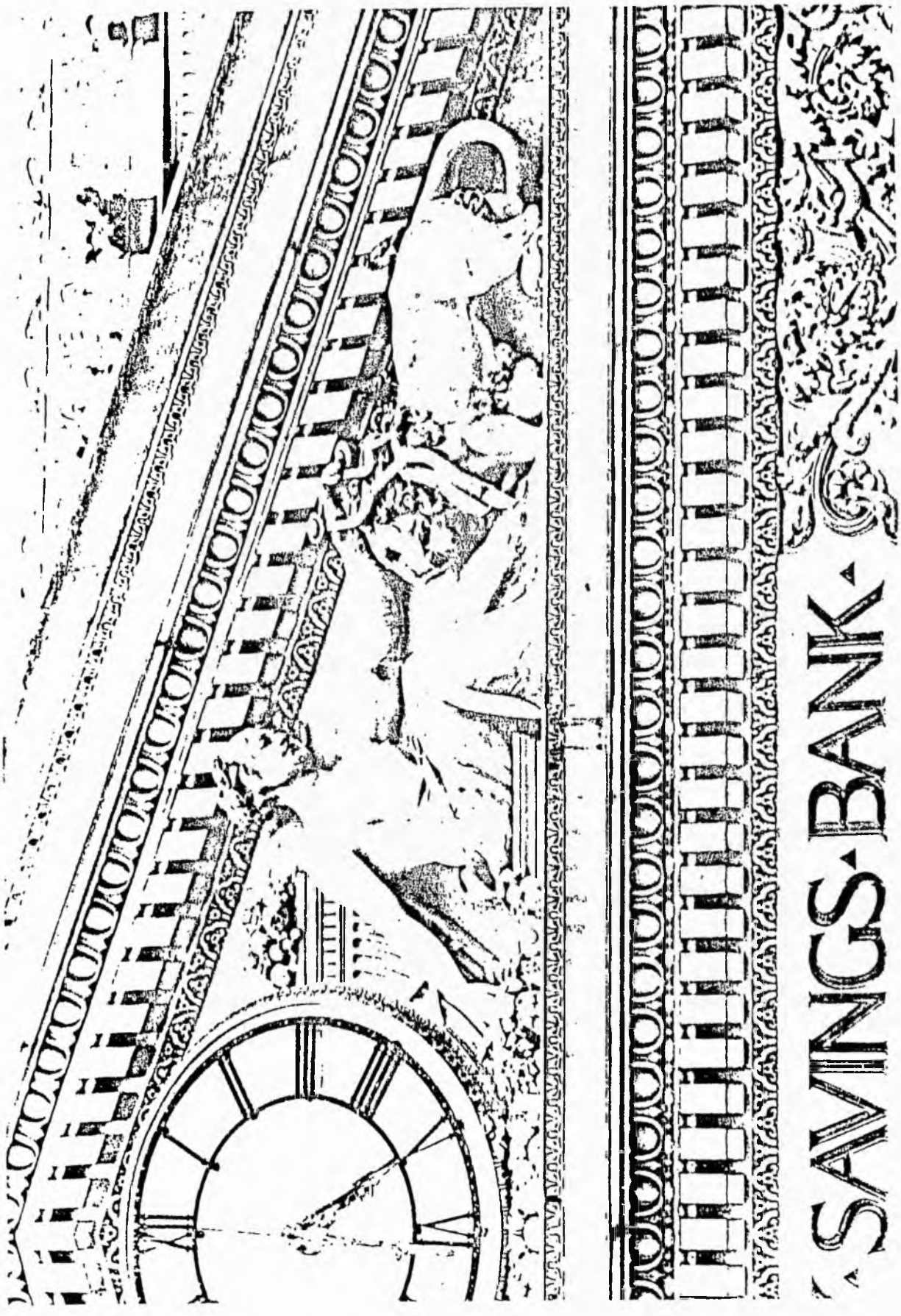
125. Frederick MacMonnies: "Horse Tamers," Park Circle entrance, Prospect Park, Brooklyn, N.Y. (W).



126. Bowery and Grand Street, N.Y., showing the two porticoed entrances to the Bowery Savings Bank (W).

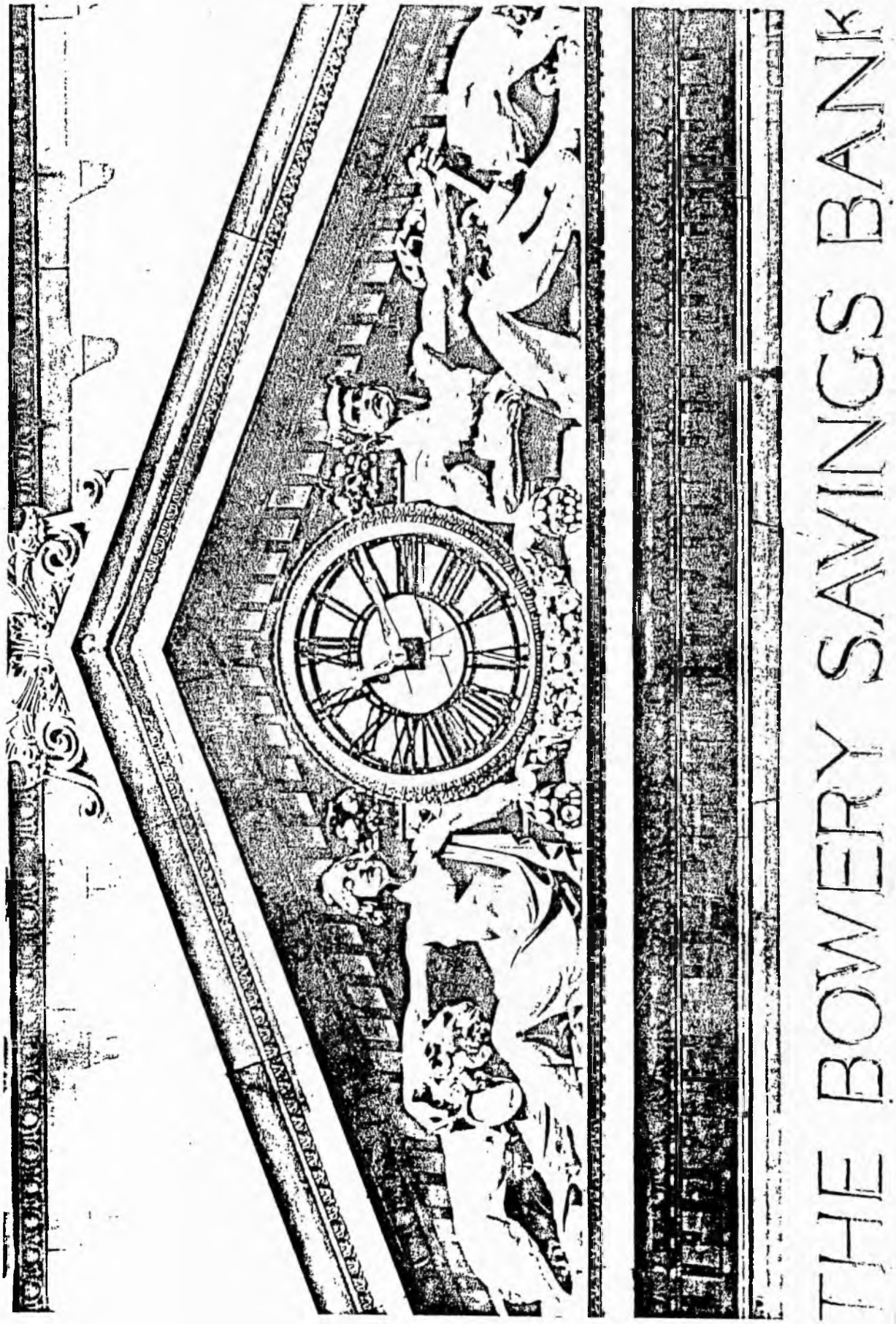
127. Bowery Savings Bank, N.Y., Grand Street entrance, 1893-95 (W).

128. Frederick MacMonnies: Pediment sculptures on the Grand Street entrance to the Bowery Savings Bank, N.Y. (W)



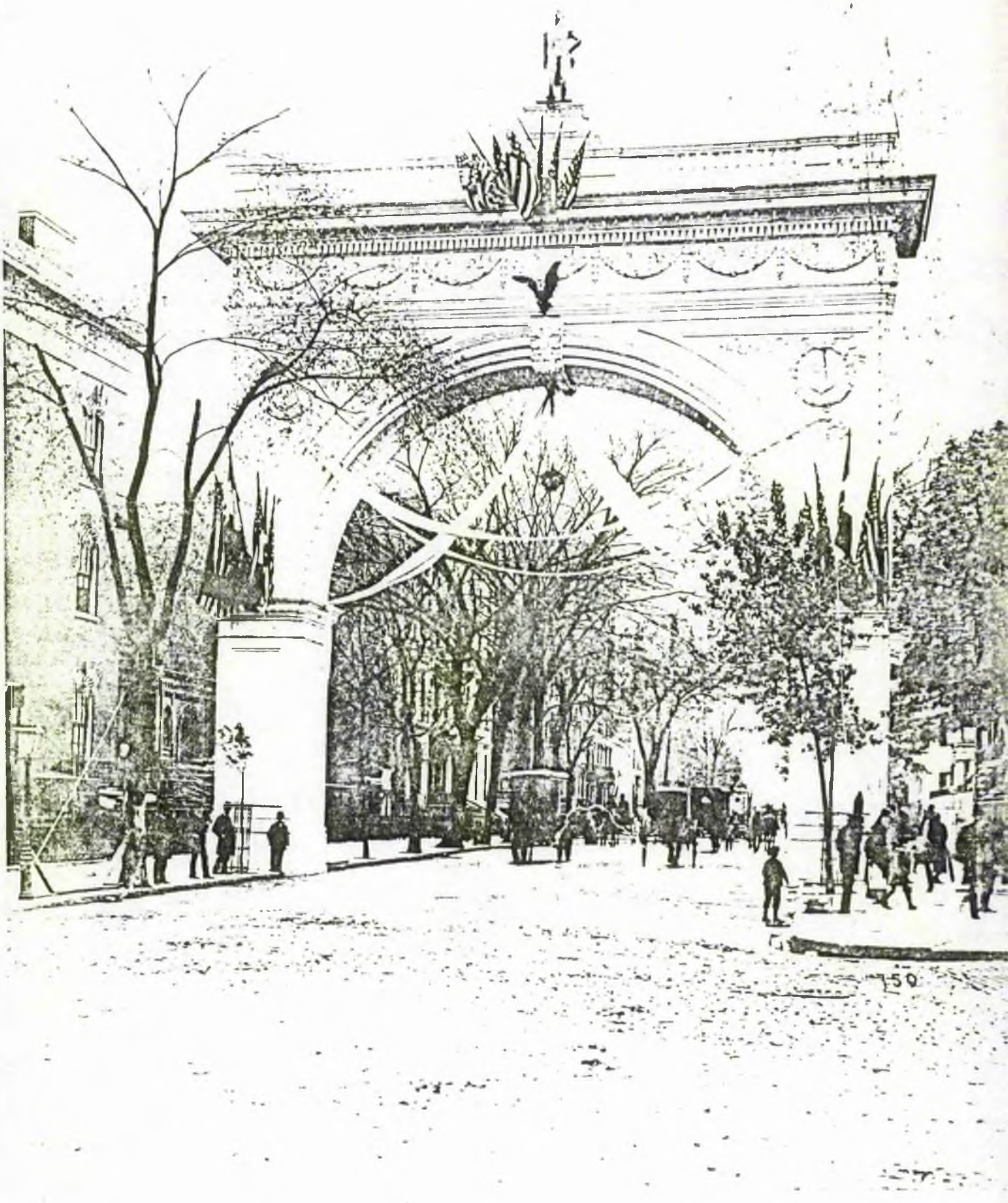
129. Frederick MacMonnies: Pediment sculptures on the Grand Street entrance to the Bowery Savings Bank, N.Y. (W).

130. Bowery Savings Bank, N.Y., Bowery Street entrance (W).



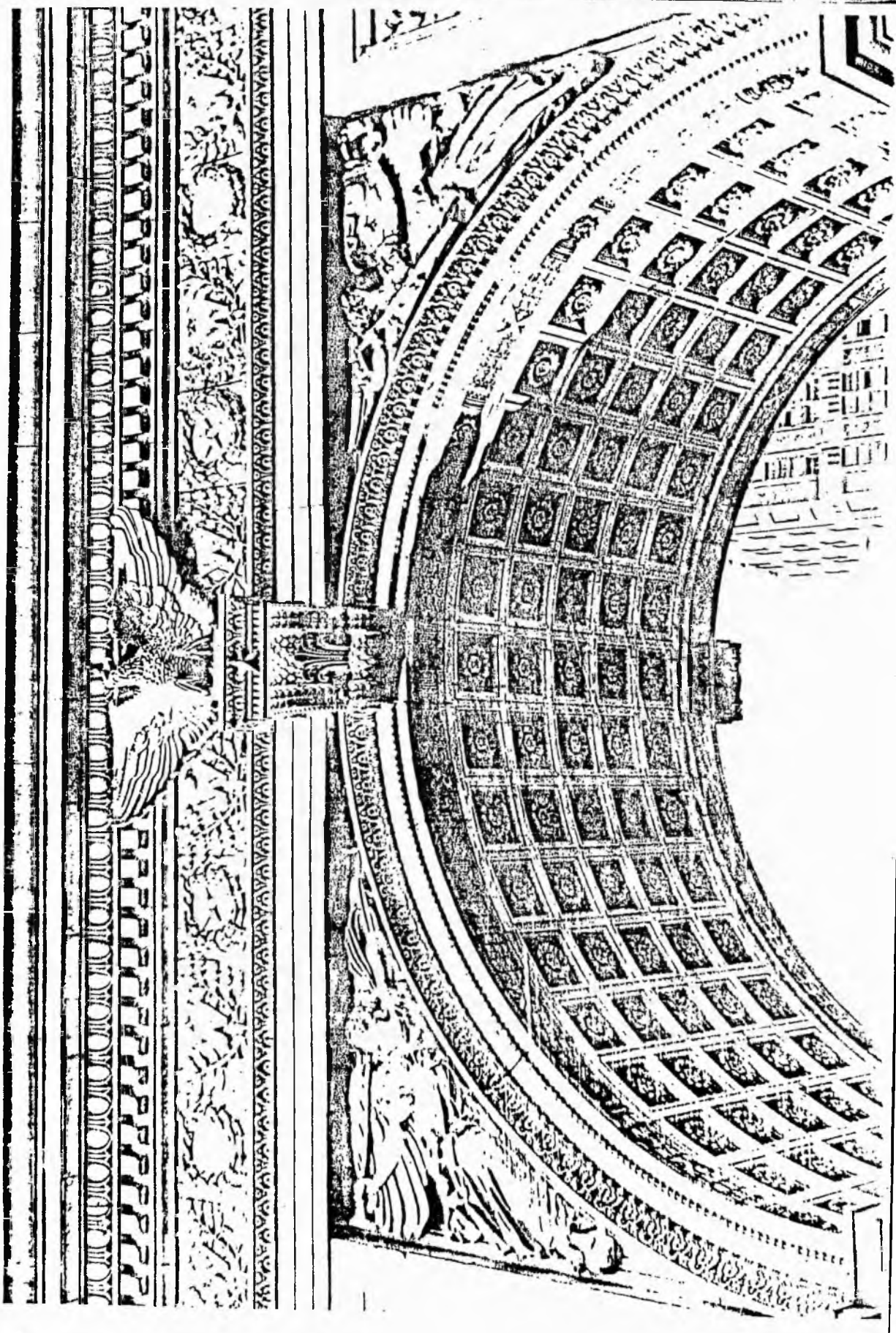
131. Frederick MacMonnies: Pediment sculptures on the Bowery Street entrance to the Bowery Savings Bank, N.Y. (#).

132. Frederick MacMonnies: "General Slocum," Grand Army Plaza, Brooklyn, N.Y. (W)



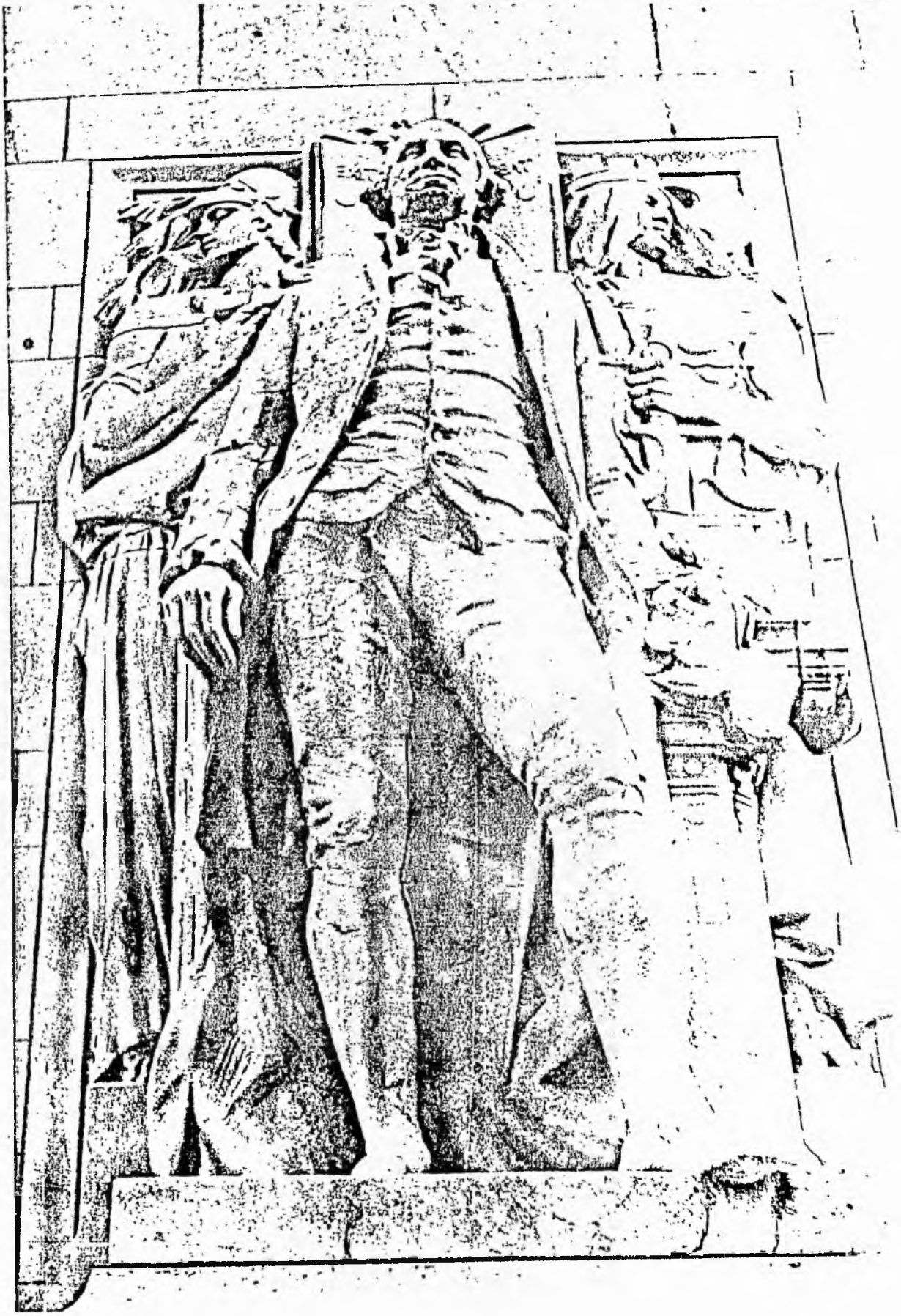
133. Washington Arch, Fifth Avenue, N.Y., temporary papier-mache structure, 1889 (Museum of the City of New York). Photographer: Paul C. Oscanyan

134. Washington Arch, N.Y., north face, 1889-95 (W)

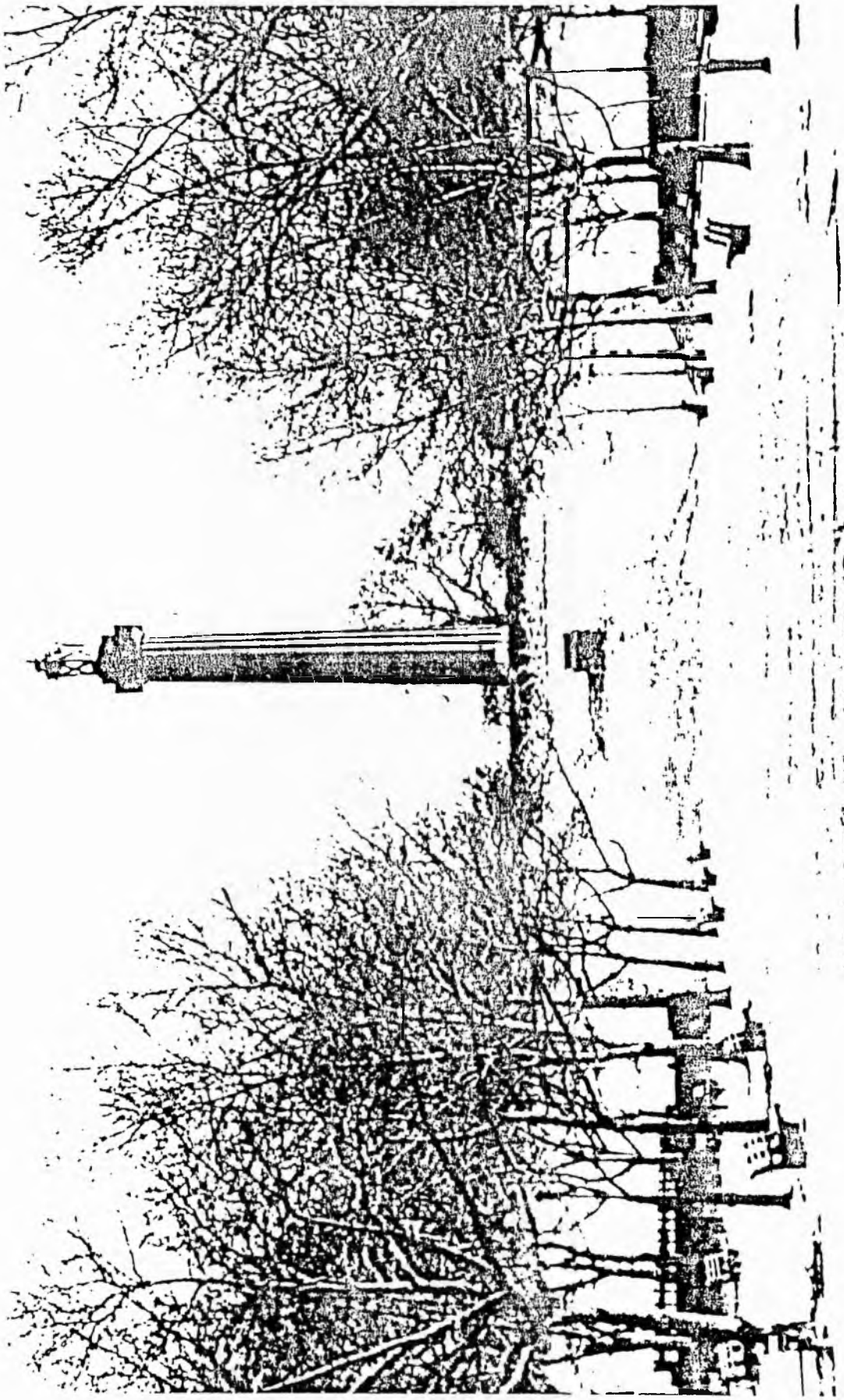


135. Frederick MacMonnies: Spandrels and, Philip Martiny: Eagle, Washington Arch, N.Y., south face (W).

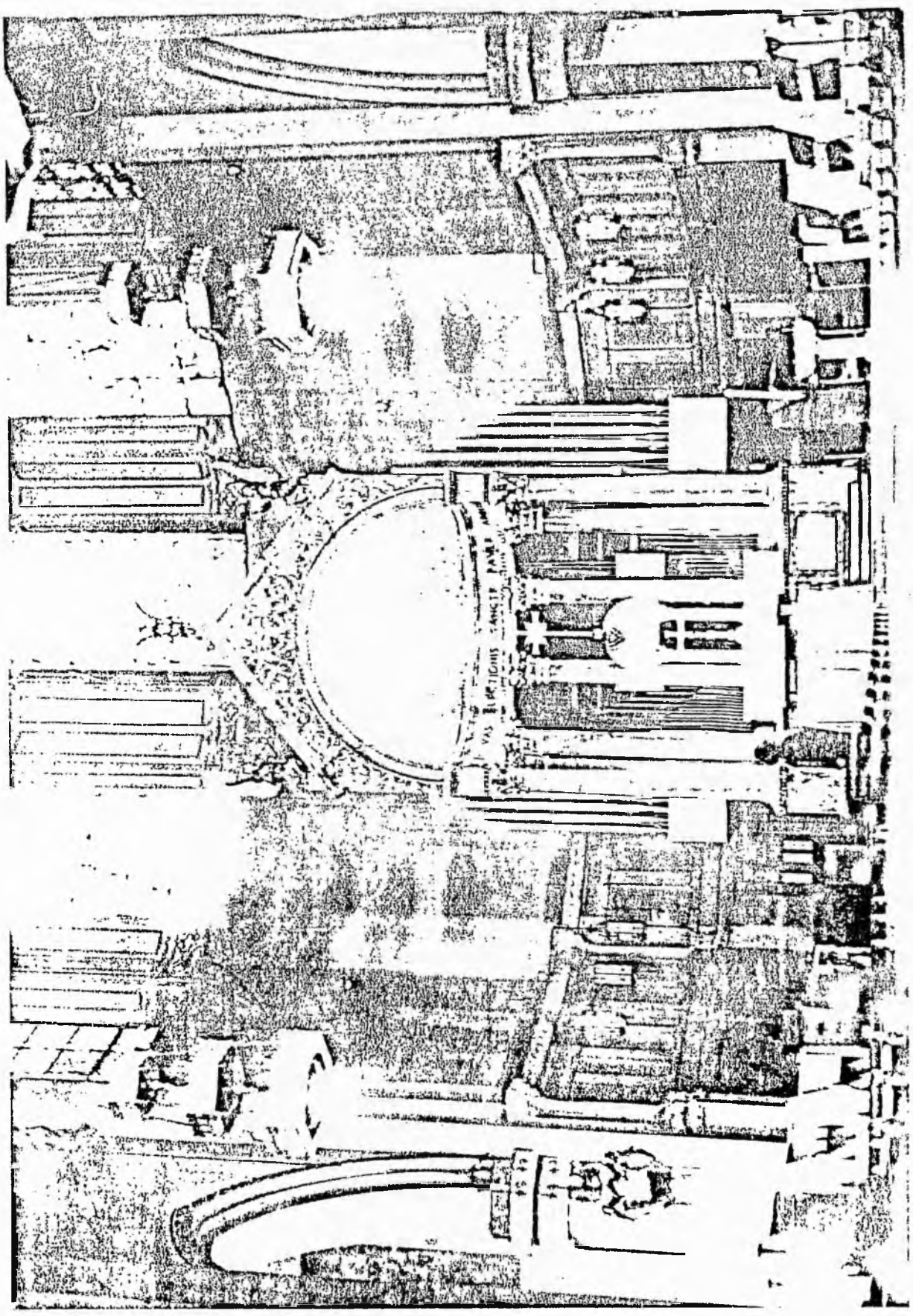
136. Hermon A. McNeil: "General Washington," flanked by Valor and Fame, Washington Arch, N.Y., completed 1918 (W).



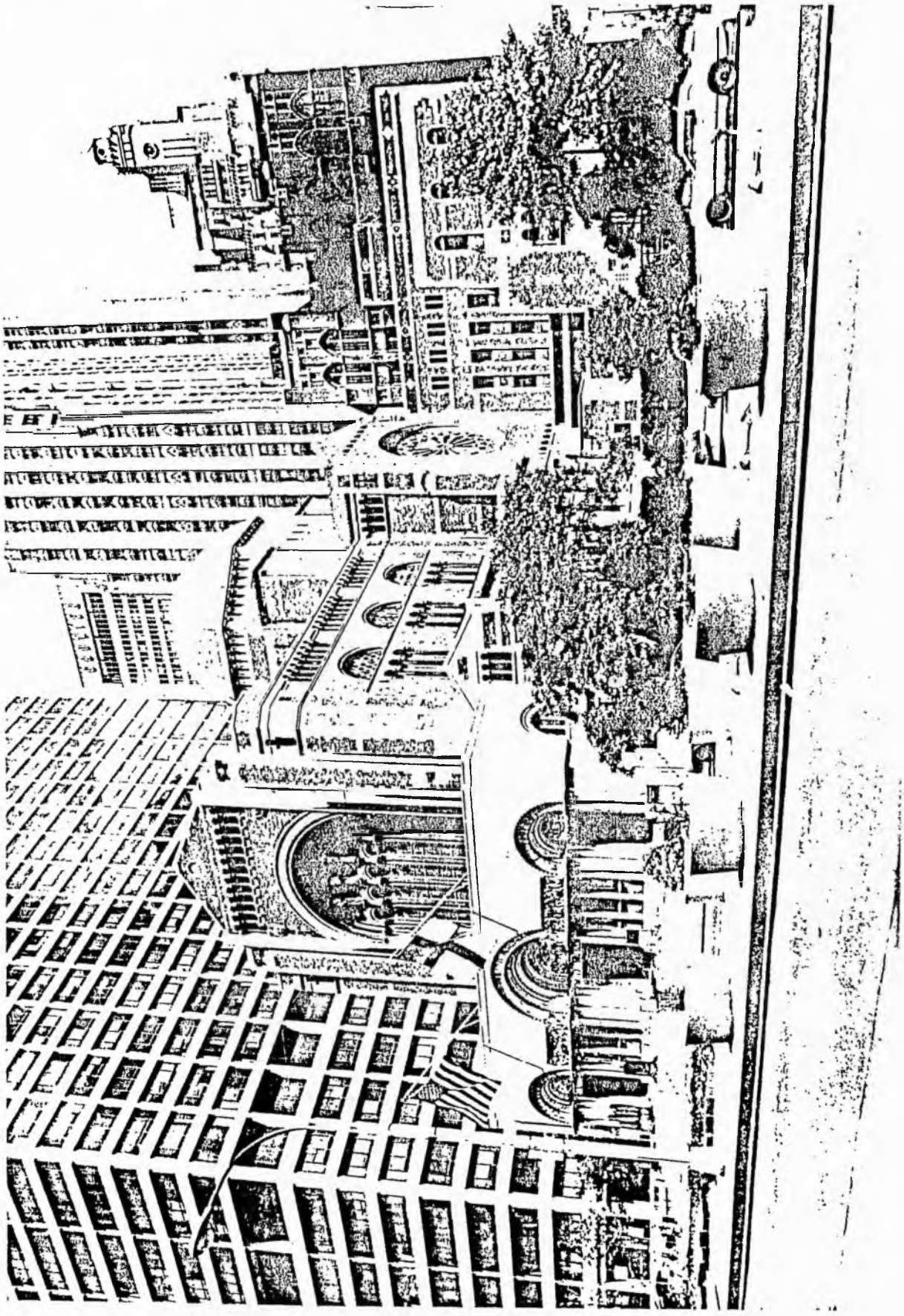
137. Alexander Stirling Calder: "General Washington" flanked by Wisdom and Justice, Washington Arch, N.Y., completed 1918 (W).



138. Prison Ship Martyrs Monument, Fort Greene, Brooklyn, N.Y. 1900-1908 (W)

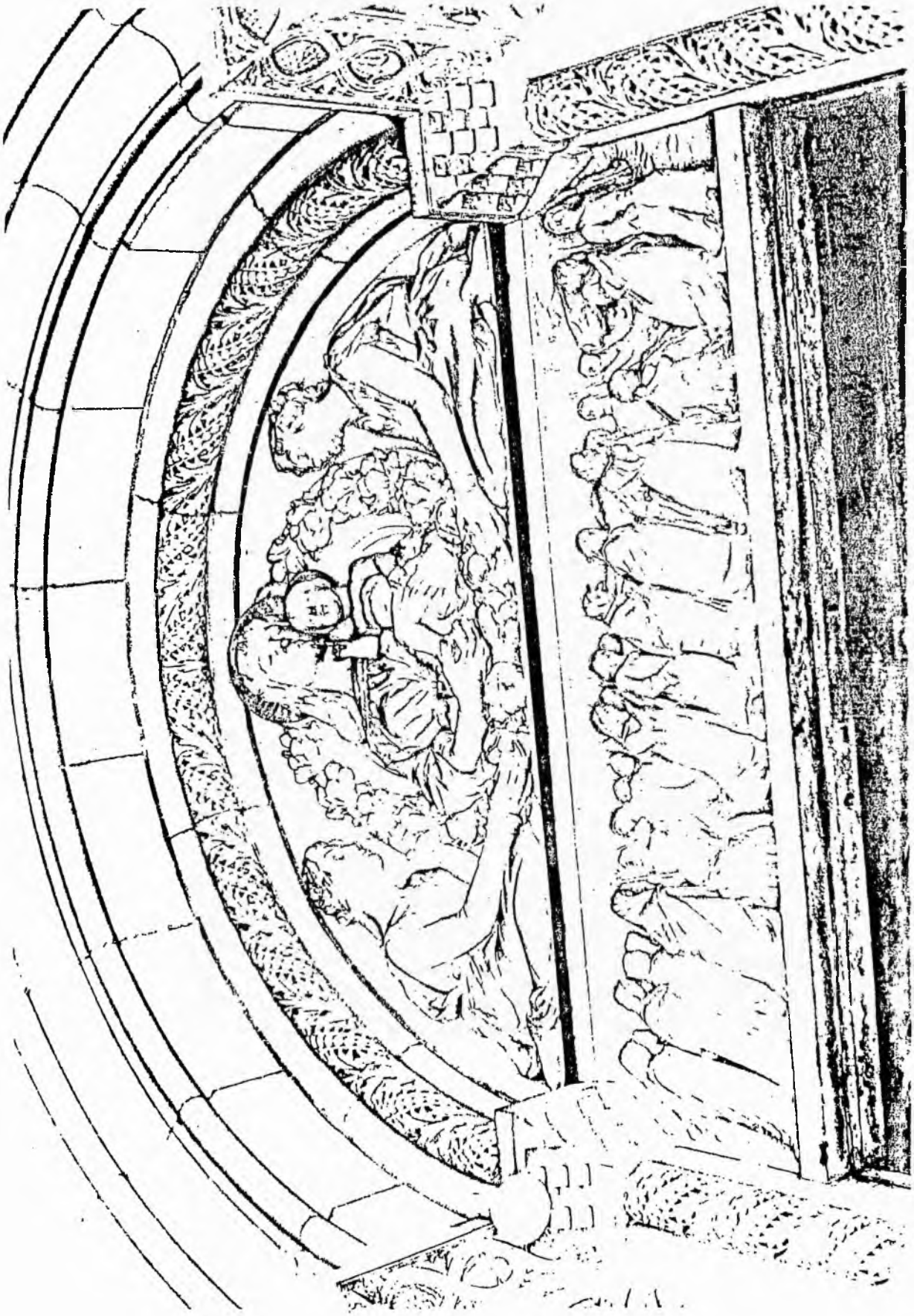


139. Church of the Paulist Fathers, N.Y., 1876 by Jeremiah O'Rourke. High Altar by White, 1890 (W)

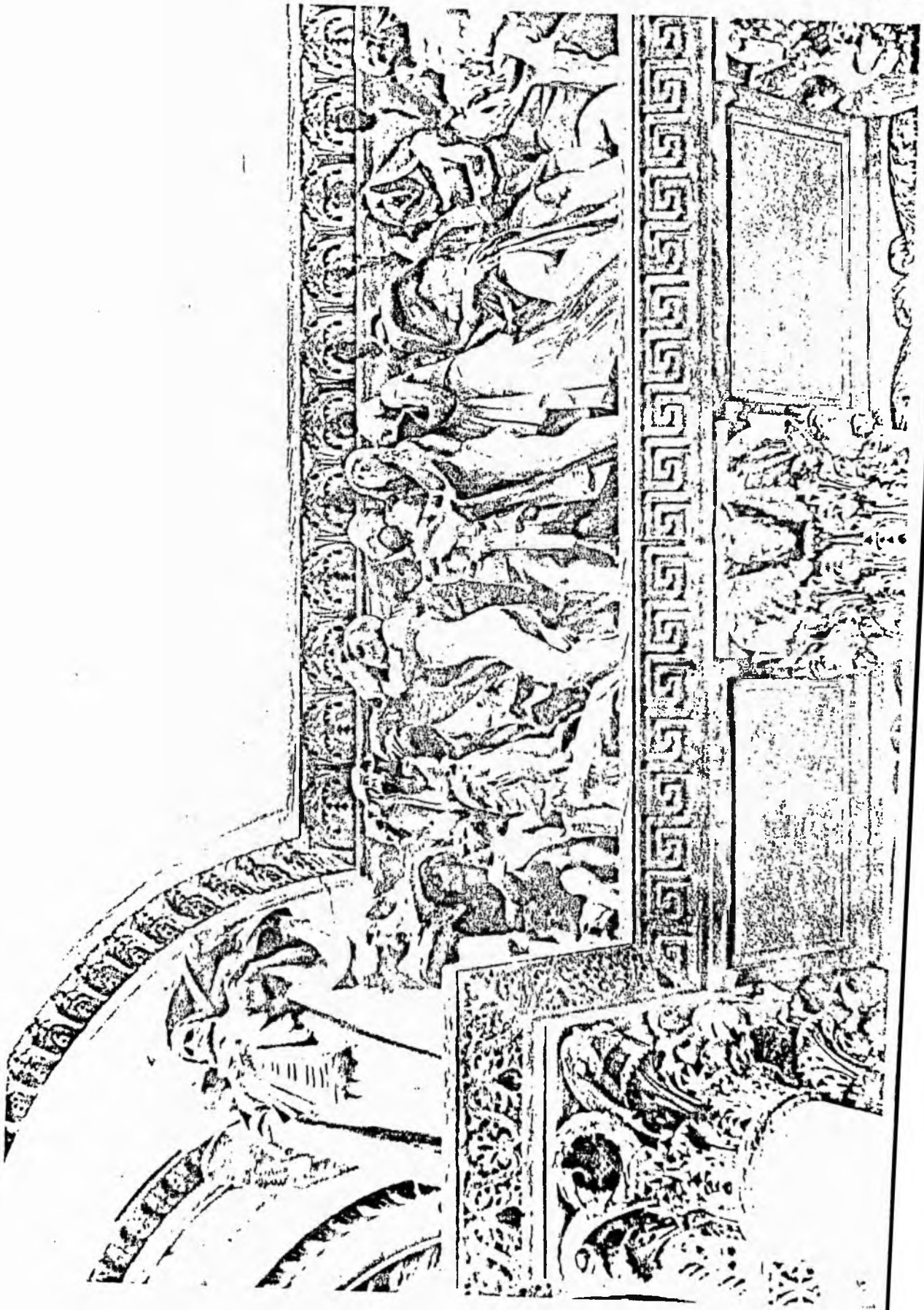


140. Bertram Goodhue: St. Bartholomew's Church, N.Y., 1919, with porch by White, 1901-3, tranferred from the 1872 St. Bartholomews (W)

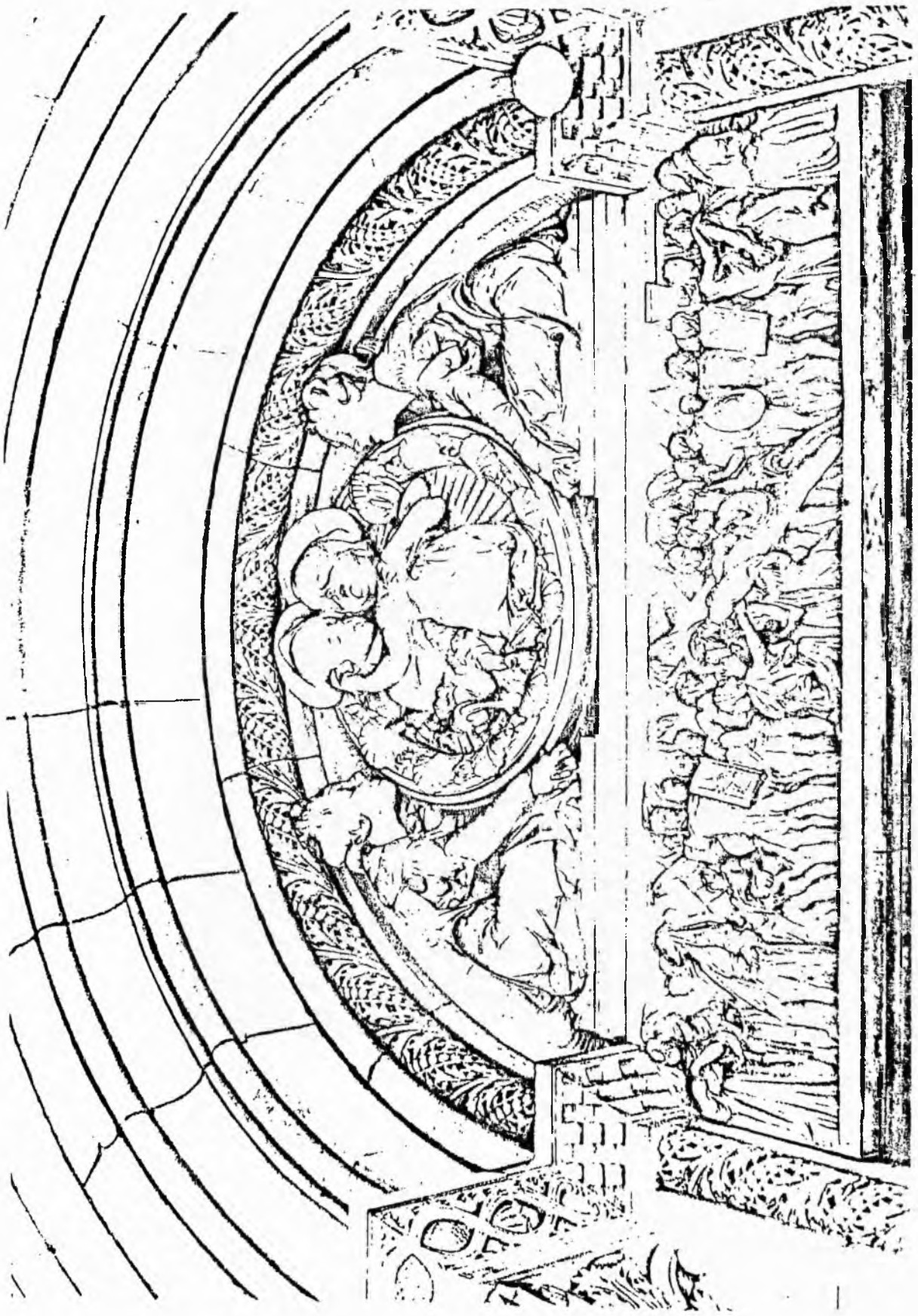
141. James W. O'Connor: St. Bartholomew's Church, N.Y., Tympanum over central door (W).



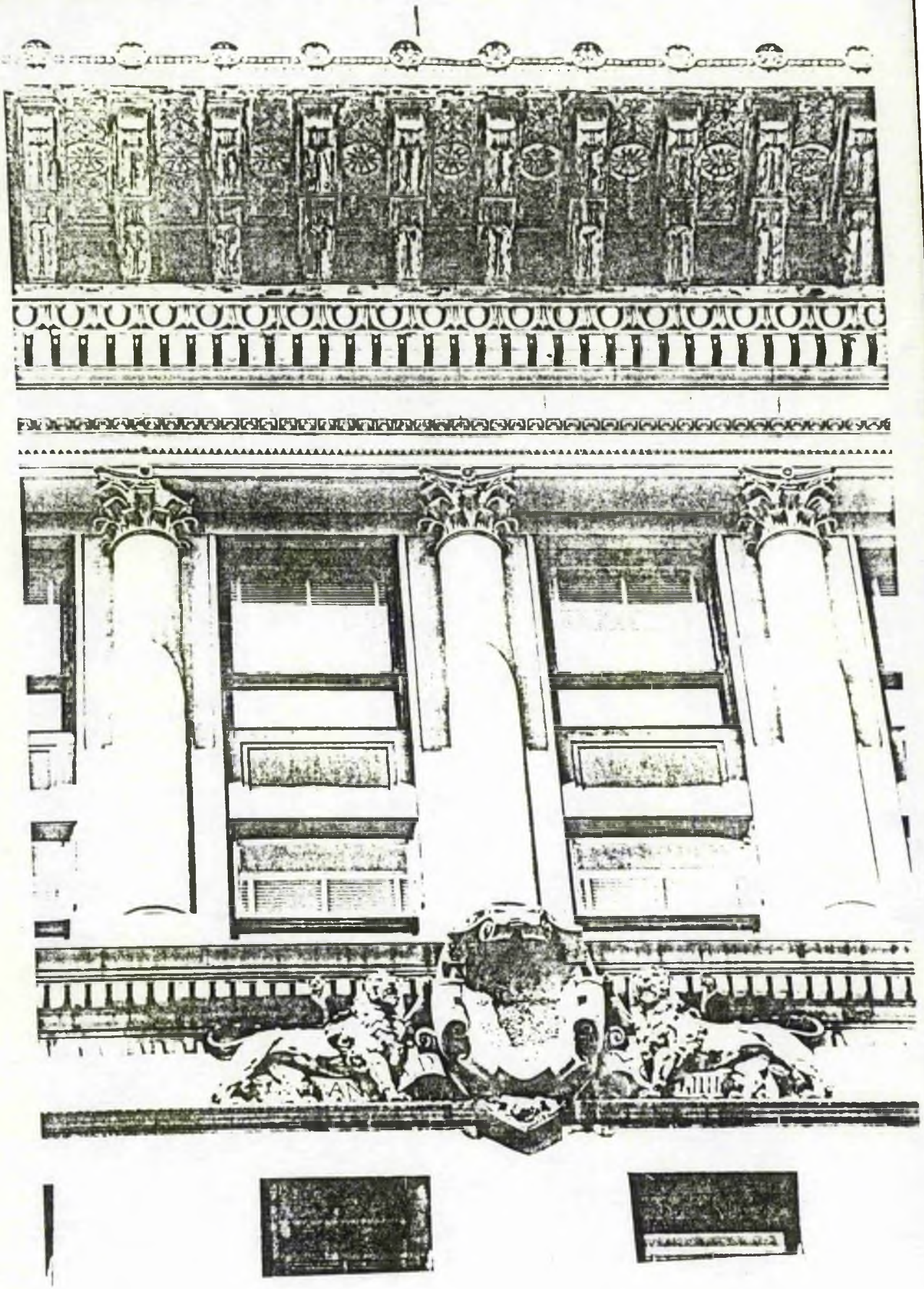
142. Herbert Adams: St. Bartholomew's Church, N.Y., Tympanum over north (left hand) door (W).



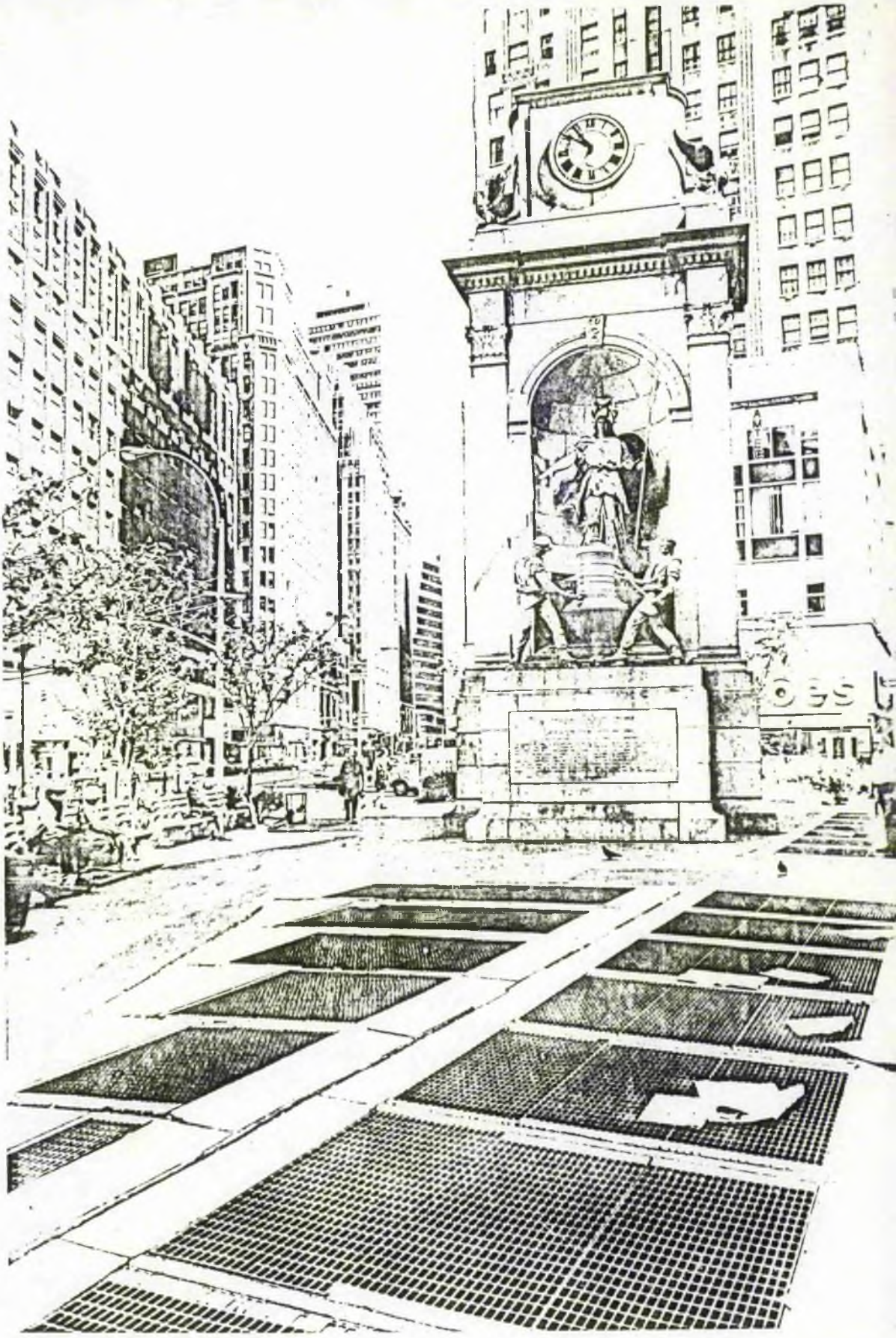
143. Herbert Adams: St. Bartholomew's Church, N.Y., Lintol between doors (W).



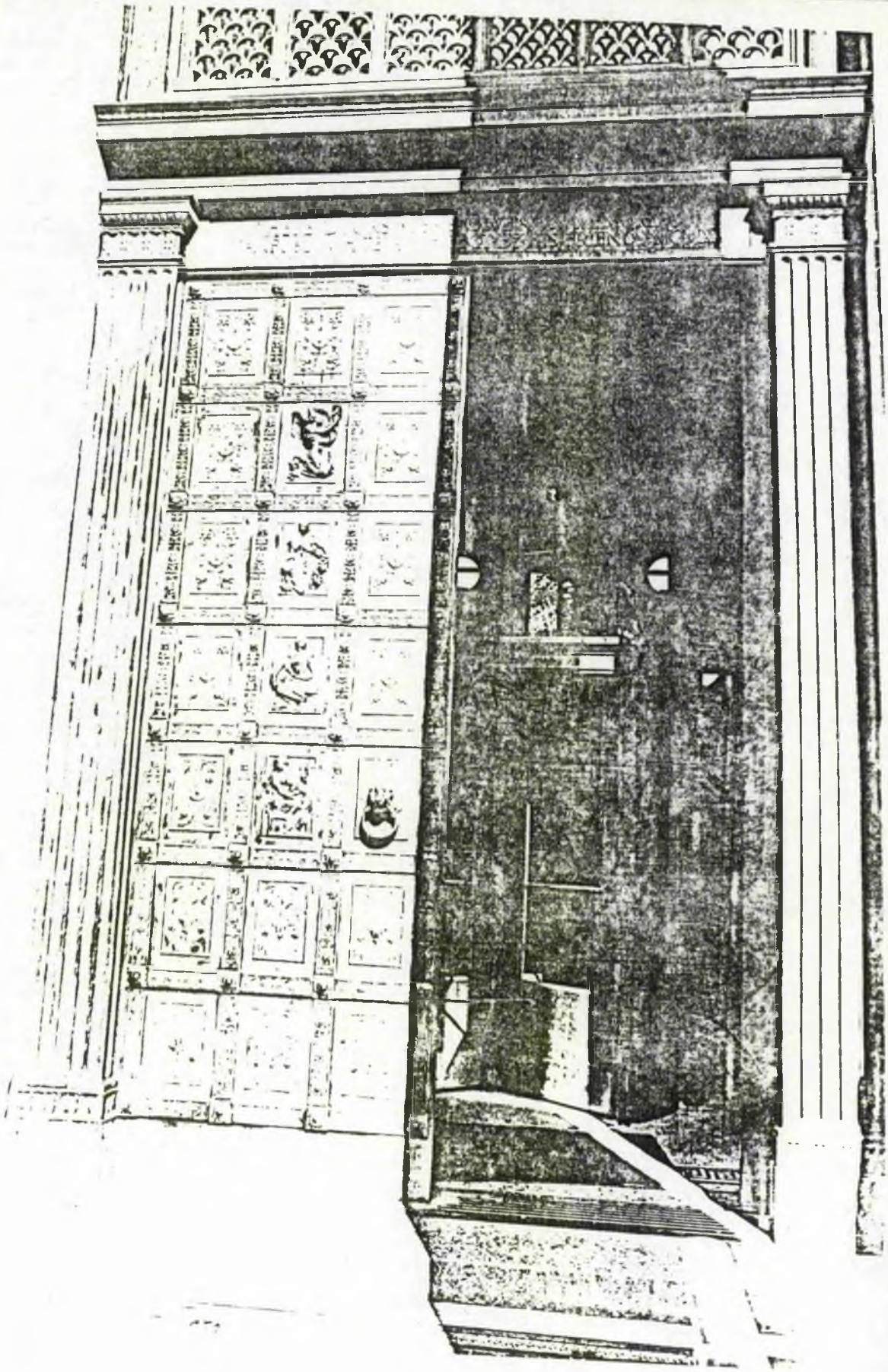
144. Philip Martiny: St. Bartholomew's Church, N.Y., Tympanum over south (right hand) door (W).



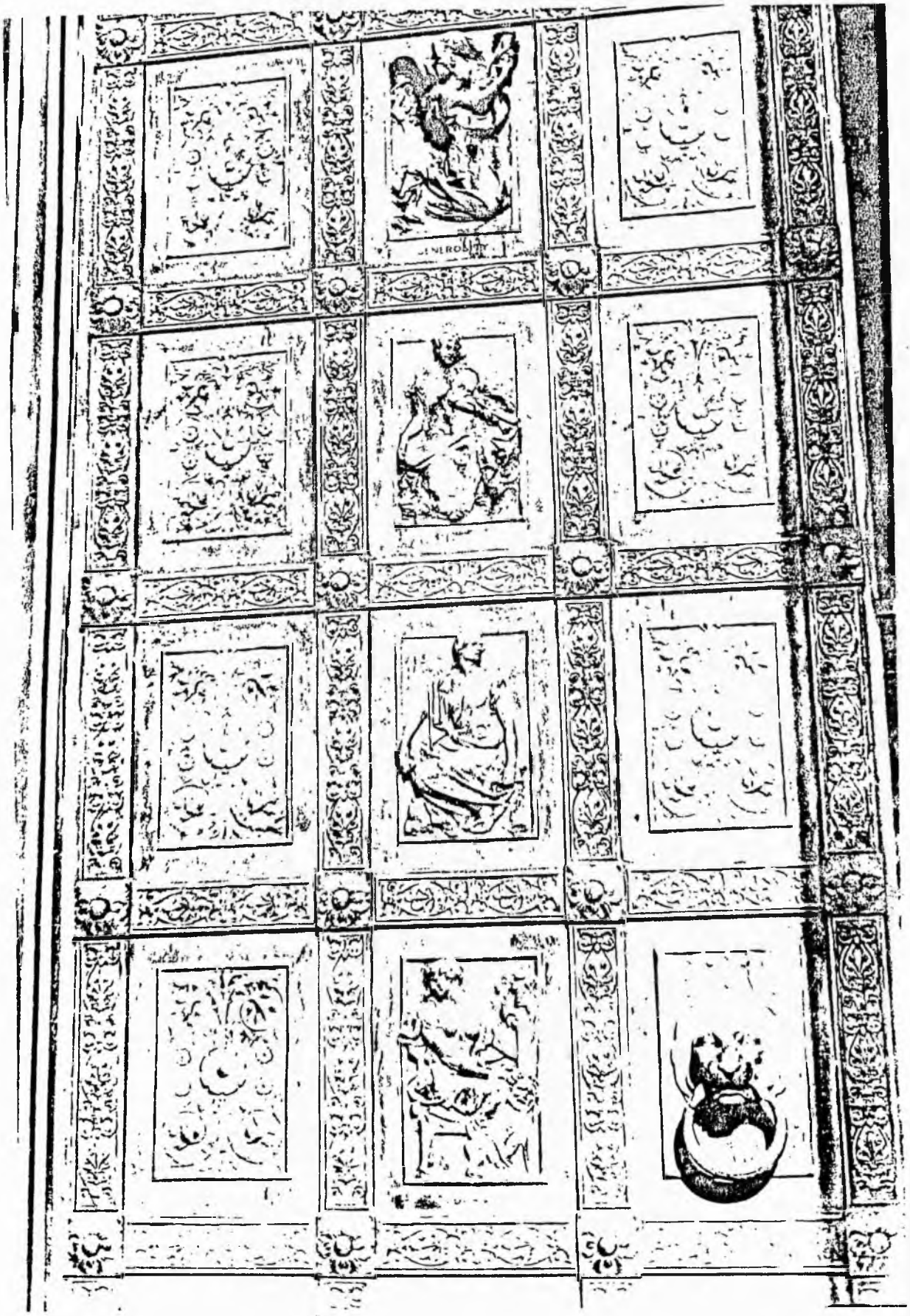
145. James W. O'Connor: Lions on either side of a cartouche, Gorham Building, N.Y. (W).



146. Antonin Carles: Minerva and Bell Strikers for the Herald Building, 1894 (demolished 1921), now in Herald Square (W).



147. Stanford White Memorial Doors, Gould Library, New York University, Bronx, N.Y. 1919 (W).



148. Stanford White Memorial Doors, Gould Library, New York University, Bronx, N.Y., 1919. Details of O'Connor's "Generosity," Martiny's "Architecture," Herbert Adams's "Sculpture," and Adolph Weinman's "Drama," with Ulysses Ricci's lion handles (W).